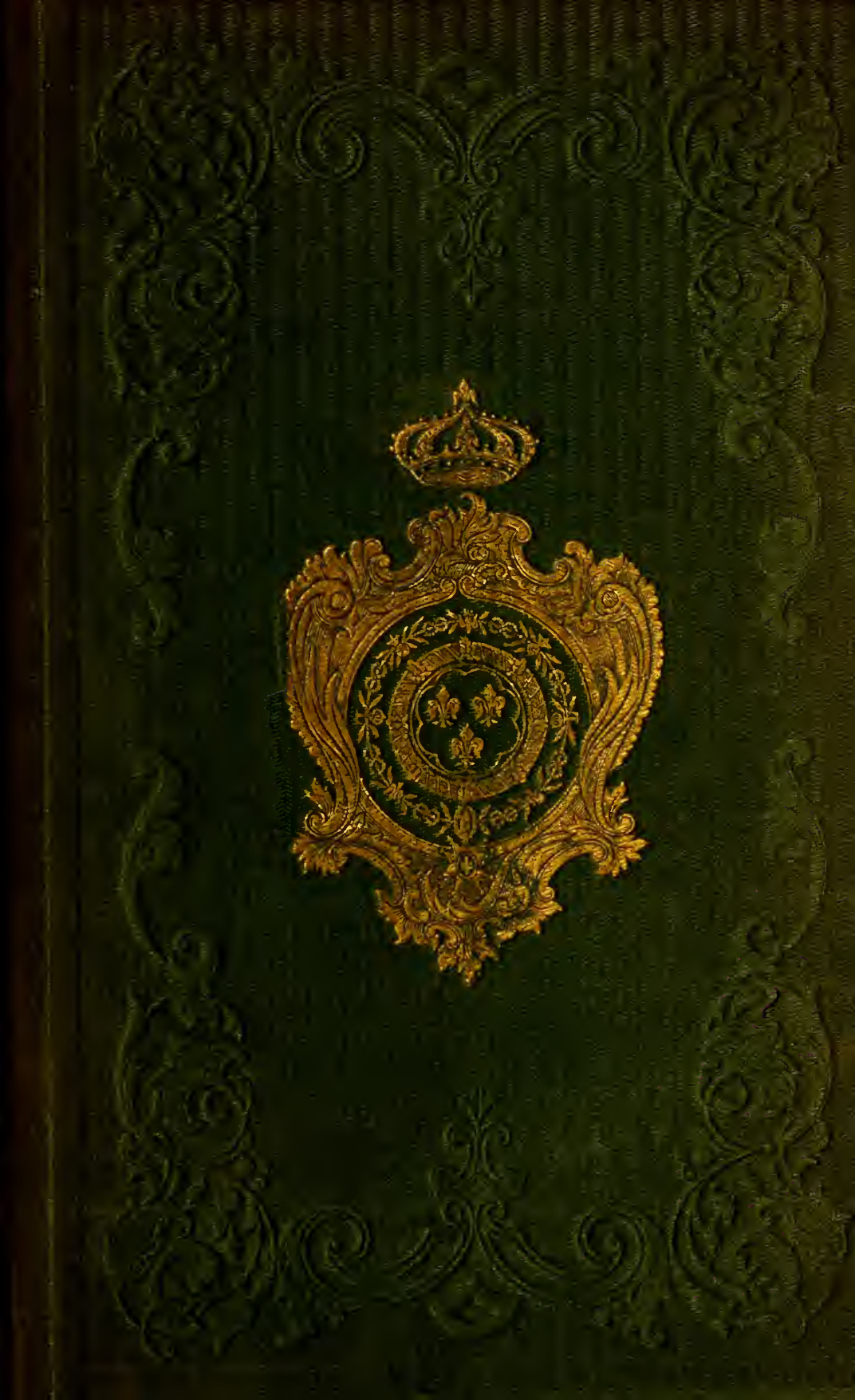

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

HOUSE OF ORLEANS;

INCLUDING

SKETCHES AND ANECDOTES OF THE
MOST DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS IN FRANCE DURING THE
SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

BY

W. COOKE TAYLOR, LL.D.,

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"ROMANTIC BIOGRAPHY OF THE AGE OF ELIZABETH;" "STUDENT'S MANUALS
OF ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

NEXT to the open hostilities between the Houses of Valois and Bourbon, the continued jealousy between the elder and younger branches of the Bourbons may be regarded as the most interesting episode in French history. That mysterious problem, "the great secret" of Louis XIV., bequeathed as an inheritance to his race, was, at least partially, the necessity of watching the ambitious designs of the Orleans family; his apprehensions were expressed in the phrase "Orleans and Orange:" he feared that the English example of a revolution, and a monarch with a parliamentary title, might be contagious. A century elapsed before these fears were realized; the Revolution of 1830 seemed a justification of the jealousies and precautions of Louis XIV.

The present work was undertaken to illustrate this mystery in the private and family history of royalty, some years before the Revolution of 1848 changed the fortune and prospects of the House of Orleans. More than one interesting problem presented itself for investigation. What was probably the great secret of Louis XIV.? Did Henrietta of England, Maria Louisa of Spain, an unfortunate mother and an unfortunate daughter, really die by poison? Was the Regent Orleans such a moral monster as he is usually depicted? Did Philip Egalité deserve all the execration with which his memory has been loaded by posterity? The latter question involved an inquiry into some of the causes of the first French Revolution; and though little novelty can be expected on a subject which has employed the best pens of the

age, it is hoped that a new light has been thrown on the connection of the Duke of Orleans with that great series of events.

Less space has been devoted to Louis Philippe than many readers will be prepared to expect; but it is only his early life that as yet properly belongs to history: we are too close to his reign to estimate justly either the great abilities which he displayed, or the great errors which he committed. The late Revolution justifies that course of repressive policy which was one of the gravest charges brought against his reign; he was fully persuaded that the only choice open to France was monarchy or anarchy, and he could not have foreseen a republic compounded of universal suffrage and a state of siege!

The greater part of this work being personal and anecdotic, it has been deemed advisable to indicate the sources from which the facts were derived, and this has led to a greater number of notes than would otherwise be desirable; but it is believed that these notes will be found to contain much interesting matter entirely new to English readers.

DUBLIN,
July 18, 1849.

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CHAPTER I.

LOUIS XIII.—HIS VISITS TO SISTER ANGELICA AND THE QUEEN.—THE CONSEQUENCE OF THEM.—BIRTH OF LOUIS XIV.—POPULAR SPECULATIONS AND PUBLIC SCANDAL.—MACHINATIONS OF CARDINAL RICHELIEU.—BUST OF THE DUKE OF ANJOU.—ANNE OF AUSTRIA.—MARIE DE' MEDICI.—RICHELIEU AND CHARLES I. OF ENGLAND.—MADEMOISELLE D'HAUTEFORT.—ANECDOTE OF HER.—RICHELIEU AND THE REGENCY, AND GASTON DUKE OF ORLEANS.—THE MARQUIS OF CINQ-MARS AND MARION DE L'ORME.—PRECAUTIONS TAKEN BY THE FORMER.—EXPEDITION AGAINST SPAIN.—CONSPIRACY OF CINQ-MARS.—ITS RESULT.—DEATH OF RICHELIEU.—HIS SUCCESSOR, CARDINAL MAZARIN.—THE REGENCY SETTLED.—ANECDOTE OF THE DAUPHIN.—DEATH OF LOUIS XIII.

On a wet and stormy day in the month of December, 1637, Louis XIII. threw all the gossips and scandal-mongers of Paris into greater perplexity and confusion than the city had known since the days of the League, when its gates were closed against its legitimate sovereign, and every hour produced a fresh intrigue either to secure his admission or perpetuate his exclusion. In the full pomp of royalty, escorted by his guards and attended by his favorite courtiers, Louis drove leisurely through the Faubourg St. Antoine, towards the Convent of St. Mary of the Visitation, in which, some months before, the fairest and most gentle of his mistresses, Mademoiselle de la Fayette, had taken up her residence. The incident was well calculated to attract observation and stimulate curiosity. Everybody knew that Mademoiselle de la Fayette was the declared enemy of the powerful minister,

Cardinal Richelieu. She was one of the few persons in France who had dared to resist his will, and oppose his projects; and it was not until all her arts and efforts to induce the king to reject the yoke of his minister had hopelessly failed, that she began to feel compunctious visitings of conscience, and resolved to seek in a convent a shelter from the seductions of the world.

Every one also knew that Louis had been passionately attached to the young lady, that he had opposed her retirement from the world with menaces, tears, and supplications, and that it required all the inflexibility of the iron will of Richelieu to extort from him a consent to a separation which left him almost alone in the world. The king disliked his wife, suspected his mother, had no sympathy with his sister, hated his brother, and feared his minister; he believed, however, firmly in the attachment of his mistress, and to her ear he confided all the secret fears of a timid and suspicious nature, and all the petty vexations which, in the mind of this unworthy son of Henry IV., assumed the importance of state affairs.

This was not the first visit which Louis had paid his mistress after her retirement: on four or five occasions he had gone to the convent in the guise of a private gentleman, and had been allowed to enjoy the charms of her conversation in the presence of a third party: to these interviews Richelieu, who had his spies in the convent, had made no objection, but he would have prevented the visit in state had he known that such a step was contemplated. Richelieu was keenly sensitive to public opinion, and he would have resisted a proceeding sure to be regarded by all Paris as an open revolt against his authority. It was, however, the undesigned result of his own machinations: he had sent the king an intercepted letter from the queen to some member of her family; and as France was then at war with Spain, the cardinal wished to fix on the queen the guilt of corresponding with the enemies of the kingdom. Alarmed and perplexed, the king resolved to consult her in whom he reposed most confidence; but fearing some attempt at assassination (a peril which the fate of his father kept ever before his eyes), he ordered that all his guards should attend him as an escort. Timidity, not passion, was the cause of the unusual state in which he visited the convent.

Sister Angelica (such was the conventual name of Mademoiselle de la Fayette) received her royal lover with cold respect, and at first seemed to shrink from the confidence he forced upon her. The conversation lasted four hours; at length Sister Angelica persuaded the king to seek an explanation of the suspicious letter

from the queen herself. Circumstances favored her advice: night had fallen, the tempest had increased, the road back to Grosbois had become almost impassable, and Louis ordered his equipage to be driven to the Louvre, the residence of his deserted wife.

Anne of Austria received her husband with surprise and pleasure; the dubious phrases in the letter were explained to his satisfaction, and he spent the night in the palace. Four months after, the pregnancy of the queen was publicly announced, and on the 5th of September, 1638, she was delivered of a son who was destined, as Louis XIV., to give a name to his age.

Such is the account we have from nearly all the French historians; but at a later period the Huguenots, whom the bigotry of Louis XIV. had driven into exile, and who revenged themselves upon him by libels and caricatures without number, circulated a very different version of the story, which soon spread over Europe. According to this tale of scandal, Sister Angelica was a mere instrument in the hands of Mazarin, and she had induced the king to visit the Louvre, in order to throw a veil over the consequences of the queen's intrigues with the wily Italian. At a later date the fiction was enlarged: it was said that the queen had been delivered of twins, one of whom resembled the king, while the other had a most suspicious likeness of Mazarin; and it was further added, that the former was "the man in the iron mask," while the latter, by the management of Mazarin, was recognized as heir to the crown. These insinuations against the legitimacy of Louis XIV. originated with the French refugees in Holland, and after having been consigned for about a century to merited oblivion, were revived by those partisans of the House of Orleans who sought to place that family on the throne, instead of the elder branch of the Bourbons.

In spite of all the machinations of Richelieu, Louis XIII. never again estranged himself from Anne of Austria. On the 21st of September, 1640, the queen gave birth to a second son, whose legitimacy was never contested: he received the title of Duke of Anjou, which he subsequently exchanged for that of Orleans, and was the founder of the house from which the late and last king of France is descended.

Louis XIII., though apparently reconciled to the queen, continued to the latest hour of his life in the belief that she had been faithless to him, and, in particular, that she and his brother Gaston of Orleans had plotted his murder, that his death might remove every impediment to their marriage. When Anne of Austria attempted to remove these impressions, and sent him a pathetic

protest against such calumnies, he harshly exclaimed, "Is it not enough that I have forgiven her, but she must want me also to believe her?" Subsequent events render the truth of such a suspicion extremely improbable, but it was by strengthening the king in this belief, that Richelieu maintained his influence over the royal mind after the birth of heirs to the throne.

Marie de' Medici had hoped that the birth of a dauphin would open the way for her return to Paris. She knew too well the mingled feebleness and obstinacy of her son's mind to address any letters to him directly; but she eagerly accepted an invitation to England from her son-in-law Charles I., believing that her daughter Henrietta might be able to overcome the perverseness of the French monarch. The prayers of his mother, however, although supported by the earnest entreaties of his sister, failed to move Louis; a harsh and reproachful reply, which Richelieu dictated and the king signed, was sent to the queen-dowager, and Henrietta was informed that any further interference on her part would be deeply resented. But the cardinal's enmity was still unsatisfied: he threatened Charles I., who was at this time harassed by those disputes with the Parliament which ultimately led to the Civil War, that, if he did not send Marie de' Medici out of England, he would withdraw his support from the cause of royalty in England. Charles very reluctantly yielded to this vindictive menace. Marie, deprived of an asylum in England, and refused a refuge in Flanders and Holland, at last found shelter at Cologne in the house of her favorite painter Rubens, where soon afterwards she died in obscurity and in comparative indigence.

The death of his early patroness and benefactress, Marie de' Medici, enabled Richelieu to direct all his enmity against Anne of Austria, who found, however, a powerful ally in a quarter whence such friendship might least have been expected. Mademoiselle d'Hautefort, who had succeeded to the place in Louis's affection vacated by Sister Angelica, became an avowed and open partisan of the queen, who in turn treated her with the most unreserved friendship. St. Simon, on the authority of his father, declares that the affection of the king for Mademoiselle d'Hautefort was purely Platonic, and relates in confirmation the following anecdote, too characteristic to be omitted.

"The king was really in love with Mademoiselle d'Hautefort. He often visited the queen's apartments on her account, and conversed with her exclusively. He continually talked about her to my father, who clearly saw how deeply the king was smitten. My father was young and addicted to gallantry; he could not

comprehend how the king should be so desperately in love, so little careful to conceal it, and at the same time make no attempt to carry the matter further. He believed that this was the result of timidity; and acting on this impression, when the king one day spoke to him in most passionate terms of the young lady, my father testified to him the surprise I have just explained, and offered to act as his ambassador, and to bring the affair to a speedy and happy conclusion. The king heard him to the end, and then assuming an air of severity, replied, 'It is true that I am fondly attached to the young lady; that I feel a sincere love for her; that I seek her company; that I speak of her often and with pleasure; and that I think of her still more frequently: it is true that all these feelings occupy my mind in spite of myself, because I am a man, and have the ordinary weaknesses of humanity; but the more my position as a king gives me facilities of success that no other person could command, the more I ought to be on my guard against sin and scandal. For this time, I pardon you on account of your youth, but never dare to address me again in similar terms, or you will entirely forfeit my friendship and favor.' This was like a thunderbolt to my father; the scales fell from his eyes, and the idea of the king's timidity in his amours disappeared before the splendor of a virtue so pure and so triumphant."*

Louis was compelled to separate from this lady also by his powerful minister. The whole of Richelieu's policy was directed to securing the regency for himself after the death of the king, to the exclusion of the queen and the king's brother, Gaston, Duke of Orleans. Both the king and the cardinal were in feeble health: an epigram of the time rudely says,

> "The king and the cardinal, panting for breath,
> Are racing to see who'll be in at the death."

Under these circumstances, it required a nice calculation of chances by courtiers to preserve, not merely their places, but their heads. An error in such a speculation brought Henry, Marquis of Cinq-Mars, to the scaffold, whose fate has been a favorite theme for poetry and romance.

Cinq-Mars held the office of Master of the Horse, which was no sinecure in the court of a monarch so passionately fond of hunting as Louis XIII. Preferring the charms of female society to the sports of the field, he posted from St. Germains every night when the king retired to rest, and spent his hours with Marion de

* St. Simon, i. 90.

l'Orme, a celebrated courtezan.* The king rose early, Cinq-Mars was frequently absent from his post in the morning; and Louis, after frequently complaining of his laziness, at last made inquiries into the matter, and discovered the intrigue. He strictly forbade Cinq-Mars to visit Marion de l'Orme again; the young nobleman disobeyed, and when remonstrated with on the subject, made so disrespectful a reply that he was forbidden to appear in the royal presence.

Cinq-Mars had obtained his appointment through the influence of Richelieu, and the cardinal (to whom he had more than once been useful as a spy upon the other courtiers) successfully exerted himself to procure his restoration to the royal favor. Louis, probably more anxious to get rid of the spy than the profligate, who preferred a mistress to a hunting-match, adopted a new course of policy, characteristic of the weakness and cunning which marked his entire career. He applied himself to win the personal regard of Cinq-Mars, and easily persuaded the young man that the friendship of the king would be more than a counterpoise to the hostility of the cardinal. Richelieu soon missed the secret information he had been accustomed to receive, but he concealed his resentment until the time should arrive for taking signal vengeance on the traitor. The quiescence of the cardinal was of itself alarmingly ominous to Cinq-Mars; he sought to create a party sufficiently powerful to shield himself from danger, and won over to his interests Francis de Thou, son of the celebrated Jacques Auguste de Thou, and one of the most eminent lawyers of his day. Francis de Thou was enraged with the cardinal, who had prevented him from being appointed councillor of state; he therefore not only joined Cinq-Mars, but secured for him the support of the king's brother, Gaston of Orleans, and also that of the Duc de Bouillon.

Early in 1642, the Catalans, who had revolted against the King of Spain, proffered their allegiance to France, on condition of having their *fueros*, or peculiar provincial laws and privileges, inviolably maintained. Persuaded by Richelieu, who promised him the easy conquest of Roussillon, and the fame of a cheap victory, the king proceeded in person to Catalonia. He did not penetrate the ambitious designs of the cardinal, who wished to conduct him into a distant province, and place him between two armies commanded by his own friends and creatures, so that, if the feeble health of Louis gave way under a long and fatiguing

* Immortalized by Victor Hugo in one of his most brilliant dramas.

journey, he might at once be proclaimed regent, with a sufficient force at hand to maintain his title. No one at court doubted that the object of the cardinal in proposing this journey was to hasten the death of the king, "to shake the sands in his glass," as some unknown wit metaphorically remarked. All seemed to perceive some confirmation of their suspicions in the plan formed for the campaign, and in the measures taken for the government of the realm during the king's absence. The monarch proposed to take with him his queen, and his brother, Gaston of Orleans, both of whom Richelieu feared and detested; to place the dauphin, and his young brother, the Duc d'Anjou, for safety in the Castle of Vincennes, the governor of which was devoted to the cardinal; and to leave as Governor of Paris the Prince of Condé (who was equally attached to the powerful minister), to regulate with a council of Richelieu's creatures all that related to the interior of the kingdom. But these plans were baffled by the queen: with tears streaming from her eyes, she declared to the king that she would not be separated from her children; and as it would have been obviously dangerous to expose these infants to the hazards of such a journey, she was allowed to remain with them at the palace of St. Germains.

Early in February, the king set out, accompanied by the cardinal, both promising themselves nothing less than to carry the war into the very heart of Spain, and to overturn that ancient monarchy by raising its subjects in revolt after the capture of Roussillon, which was looked upon as certain. Neither could have anticipated that death was about to disconcert projects, which the minister's ambition and the monarch's weakness caused both to entertain. The king, on reaching Lyons, exhibited symptoms of that languor and faintness which brought him to the grave in less than a year; but the cardinal, who was even in worse health, and whose disease was more speedily to prove fatal, concealed every trace of indisposition. It was at this crisis that Richelieu escaped from the greatest danger to which he had ever been exposed.

Cinq-Mars, Orleans, and Bouillon, had held a secret consultation before the court left Paris, at which they discussed the chances of the king's death, and the probability of his bequeathing the regency by a solemn will and testament to the cardinal, to the exclusion of the queen and the Duke of Orleans. All believed that such an event was impending; although none could suggest means by which it might be frustrated, until Cinq-Mars proposed that a confidential envoy should be sent to the court of Spain, to conclude a treaty there in the name of *Monsieur*, as the brother of

the reigning monarch of France was usually called. Fontrailles, who was chosen for this task, traveled post to Madrid, and, on the 13th of March, concluded a treaty with the count-duke, by which it was stipulated, "That the King of Spain should supply Monsieur with twelve thousand foot and five thousand horse, all veteran and picked troops; and that he should further advance him four hundred thousand crowns to levy additional forces. Monsieur, on his part, engaged to retire to Sedan as a place of safety, to place himself at the head of the army, and to enter France in order to compel the cardinal to consent to a peace between the two kingdoms, which was stated to be the great object of the treaty." It is evident, however, that its real purpose was to procure the expulsion of the cardinal by exciting a civil war in France.

Cinq-Mars was tempted to anticipate this movement by assassinating the cardinal, but he was foiled by a variety of perverse accidents. Everything was arranged for striking the blow at Briare during the journey through Languedoc, when the illness of Monsieur (without whose countenance and presence the conspirators would not venture on such a deed) compelled them to postpone the attempt. At Lyons, the design was renewed, and this time, we are assured, with the consent of the king himself! Louis complained bitterly to his courtiers of the subjection in which he was held by his minister; Cinq-Mars offered to deliver him, and to strike the blow himself.* But at the very moment when all the preparations were complete, the heart of Louis failed, and he peremptorily forbade any act of violence. The Master of the Horse was about to renew the attempt at Narbonne, where the cardinal lay dangerously ill; but having learned from the physicians that his enemy was not likely to live many days, he thought it better to let him die by the natural course, than to perpetrate a crime which might, sooner or later, compromise his own safety.

These delays were fatal to Cinq-Mars. Richelieu unexpectedly rallied, and his first efforts on his partial restoration to health were directed to the recovery of his power, which had been much shaken during his sickness. The army in the camp at Perpignan was notoriously divided into two factions, the royalists and the cardinalists, the former of whom are said to have been the bravest soldiers. The king fell dangerously ill, though his malady did not endure long; but during his sickness, Cinq-Mars gained over the Royal Swiss Guards, and induced the officers to swear that

* Histoire pour servir de suite à Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 248.

they would support the Duke of Orleans in the approaching contest for the regency. It was just at the moment of the king's recovery that Richelieu, who had removed to Tarascon for the benefit of his health, learned the secret of the treaty negotiated by Fontrailles at Madrid.* Aware of the almost insane hatred with which Louis regarded the Spanish king, and all who were supposed to have any intercourse with him, the cardinal eagerly seized this happy opportunity to re-establish his influence, which was rather on the wane, and he exultingly protested that he would take speedy and ample vengeance on his enemies.

Intelligence of their danger was conveyed to the conspirators; they held a hasty meeting, and Fontrailles counselled immediate flight. Cinq-Mars, however, believing that the cardinal was too near death to have it in his power to retaliate upon them, and presuming too much on the favor of the king, of which he had so often been assured, refused to take any precautions, and ridiculed the fears of his associates. And in fact, the king long refused to sign the warrant for the imprisonment of his favorite, insisting that the charge was a mere pretext of the cardinal to effect his ruin; but no sooner was he convinced that a secret treaty had been concluded with Spain, than he evinced more eagerness for the arrest of the conspirators than even the cardinal himself.

Cinq-Mars, De Thou, and Bouillon were seized and thrown into prison. To their surprise and horror, they soon learned that the principal witness against them would be Gaston, Duke of Orleans, to advance whose interests they had engaged in this conspiracy. On the 7th of July this most ignominious of princes, and most degraded of men, wrote a servile letter to Richelieu imploring his protection, and minutely detailing all the transactions in which he had been engaged with Cinq-Mars and De Thou. To this abominable piece of cowardice and treachery alone, the proof of the guilt of the unfortunate men is attributable; when the deposition of Monsieur was read in their presence, both made a full confession of their designs, and were immediately condemned to death. It was impossible for two men to ascend the scaffold with greater courage, or more signal marks of penitent piety, than they exhibited. Cinq-Mars displayed the intrepidity of the hero, De Thou, the calmness of a Christian; and on the 22d of September, within a few hours after sentence had been pronounced, both met their fate with equal firmness.

Although the fate of Cinq-Mars would be conceived to have

* Histoire pour servir, &c., vol. ii. p. 250.

had little influence on the happiness or tranquillity of the infant princes, who remained during the whole of these transactions under the care of Anne of Austria, at St. Germains, both were made to feel its consequences. When the dauphin had become Louis XIV., his flatterers contrasted his firm adherence to friends, and favorites, with the weakness and vacillation his father had shown in his treatment of the unfortunate Cinq-Mars; whilst enemies seized upon this conspicuous dissimilarity of character as a confirmation of the stories of Louis's illegitimacy, which were silently but sedulously circulated through Europe. When the Duke of Anjou became Duke of Orleans by the death of his uncle, he inherited with the title much of the obloquy which belonged to Gaston: that "an Orleans would betray those who raised him to power," became a proverb;* and it did not sink into oblivion when the name and rank passed to another branch of the Bourbon family.

Richelieu did not long survive his victim. He returned with the king to Paris early in November, more intent on restoring his health and fortune, than one preparing for death, which all but himself knew to be imminent. So fearful was this dying man of assassination, that he insisted on being escorted to the very doors of the royal cabinet by his own armed attendants;† and the very week before his death, he procured the dismissal of several officers of the Royal Guard, whom "he suspected of being suspicious." On the 29th of November his malady began to exhibit dangerous symptoms, and, at a consultation of physicians, held on the 2d of December, his case was pronounced hopeless. On the fourth of the month he expired, sustaining his reputation as a consummate actor almost to the latest moment of his life. On his death-bed, he protested that he forgave his enemies, as he hoped for forgiveness himself from God; but the fact is that, on the eve of his decease, and after he knew his case to be hopeless, he obtained the completion of a formal instrument by which the Duke of Orleans, after the king's death, was excluded from the regency. Louis fulfilled the promise he had made to his minister, by procuring the legal registry of this instrument on the 9th of the month. Thus Monsieur was the only victim sacrificed to the implacable animosity of the cardinal; for the officers he had exiled were recalled from banishment before his body was committed to the tomb.‡

* Histoire pour servir, &c.
† Vie de Richelieu, vol. iii. p. 350.
‡ Histoire pour servir, &c., vol. ii. p. 266.

Richelieu had chosen Mazarin for his successor, and in this and other appointments the king followed the directions of his deceased minister.* At first, Mazarin took part with Monsieur, and declared himself the enemy of the queen—a circumstance that seems to give the lie to the tales of amorous intrigues to which we have alluded—and he even procured the revocation of the Edict of Exclusion, which had been the last act of Cardinal Richelieu. It appeared, however, that Louis XIII., though he had pardoned his brother, was too prejudiced against him to trust him with the guardianship of the infant princes; Mazarin and Chavigni therefore hastened to make their peace with Anne of Austria, and thenceforth diligently exerted themselves to forward her interests. But Louis XIII. was as jealous of his queen as he was suspicious of his brother, and peremptorily refused to bequeath the regency singly to either, or conjointly to both. On the 19th of April Mazarin proposed a plan which met the royal approbation, and was immediately adopted as an ordinance. By this instrument the queen was appointed regent and guardian of the princes, and the Duke of Orleans was constituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom during the minority of the sovereign; but it was strictly provided, that no act of either should be valid, without the approbation of a Council of Regency, which Mazarin would take care should be composed chiefly of his own creatures. This ordinance was solemnly accepted by the princes of the blood, and registered by the Parliament without opposition, or even comment.

On the 21st, the ceremony of the christening of the dauphin, then little more than four years old, was celebrated with great splendor. In the evening of the day, the king sent for his son, and playfully asked, "What is your name, my boy?" The child replied, "My name is Louis *the Fourteenth.*" This reply affected the father deeply. "Not yet, child! not yet," he exclaimed, and he turned from the dauphin and retired to his private apartments. The incident is said to have hastened his end: he survived little more than three weeks, for his death took place on the 14th of May, 1643, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.†

During the reign of Louis XIII. no one ever breathed a hint of those suspicions which, at the distance of more than half a century, were cast upon the legitimacy of his successor. All writers of the time, indeed, concur in describing Anne of Austria

* Vie de Richelieu, vol. iii. p. 357.
† Suite de l'Histoire, &c., vol. ii. p. 278.

as coquettish in her manners, and not very prudent in her conduct. Her intrigues with the Duke of Buckingham have been for two centuries the theme of countless romances; but there is no evidence to prove that she was guilty of positive infidelity, and there is little probability that Mazarin became her lover before the death of her husband. It is absurd to attribute the jealousy of Louis XIV. towards his brother Philip of Anjou and Orleans to any doubts he entertained of his own legitimacy. We find Louis XIII. displaying precisely the same feelings towards Gaston of Orleans, and yet that circumstance has never even been supposed to form any ground of imputation against Marie de' Medici.

CHAPTER II.

RELAXATION OF THE REGENCY.—THE BISHOP OF BEAUVAIS.—MAZARIN'S RESTORATION TO POWER.—SUSPICIONS OF THE QUEEN-MOTHER AND THE CARDINAL.—ADVICE OF MADEMOISELLE D'HAUTEFORT AND OF LAPORTE.—DESCRIPTION OF THE YOUNG PRINCES.—EDUCATION OF "MONSIEUR."—HIS CHARACTER.—HIS FEELING TOWARDS THE KING.—HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE PRINCESS HENRIETTA OF ENGLAND CONTEMPLATED.—OBJECTIONS TO THE MATCH OVERCOME.—STORIES TO THE PREJUDICE OF HENRIETTA MARIA, WIDOW OF CHARLES I.—MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK TO LADY ANNE HYDE.—SIR CHARLES BERKELEY'S SCANDALOUS CHARGE AGAINST THE LATTER.—EARLY LIFE OF THE PRINCESS HENRIETTA.—THE COUNTESS OF MORTON.—WALLER'S PANEGYRIC ON HER.—PEPYS ON THE BEAUTY OF THE YOUNG PRINCESS.—THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S PASSION.—HIS EXTRAVAGANT CONDUCT.—MARRIAGE OF MONSIEUR AND THE PRINCESS.—OMENS ON ITS CELEBRATION.

Even before the remains of Louis XIII. were conveyed to the tomb, plans were formed for setting aside the restrictions his dying declaration had imposed upon the regency. Anne of Austria at first reposed her confidence in Augustin Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, a prelate of greater probity than talent, but whose moral character gave him commanding influence in the state. He prevailed on the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé to forego their claims to a share in the regency, on condition of receiving some lucrative governments and appointments. Oppo-

sition being thus averted, the infant king was brought to preside at "a bed of justice;" the regency of the kingdom and the education of the princes were confided to the queen without restriction; the Duke of Orleans retained his title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and in his absence the Prince of Condé was appointed to preside over the Council of Ministers.

For a few days it was supposed that the bishop would be prime minister, under the regency; for Cardinal Mazarin had announced his intention of retiring to Italy, and, ostensibly at least, had made preparations for his departure. Great, therefore, was the astonishment of politicians, when, after the lapse of a few days, it was announced that the Bishop of Beauvais had been dismissed, and that Mazarin had not only been restored to power, but had become the chosen favorite of the princes and the queen. Orleans and Condé probably believed that the cardinal, being a foreigner, would be less likely to question or control their power than a native minister—a mistake which they soon learned to correct. The motives of Anne of Austria were more closely canvassed, and were generally deemed of a more doubtful character.

There is certainly no evidence that Anne of Austria favored Mazarin during the lifetime of her husband; on the contrary, there is proof that the cardinal was at one time disposed to support the Duke of Orleans, in opposition to the queen. But no doubt remains that, from the time he became prime minister under the regency, the intimacy between him and the queen became so close as to cause, and even to justify, the most scandalous suspicions.

Mademoiselle d'Hautefort, who, as we have already mentioned, had been banished from court by the jealousy of Richelieu, was invited to resume her attendance on the queen so soon as the regency was established. After all she had done and suffered for Anne of Austria, she was mortified to find that her influence with her royal mistress availed nothing when compared with that of Mazarin. She ventured to remonstrate with the queen on the subject, representing to her that Mazarin was yet young, that scandal had not spared some incidents in the queen's married life, and that the suspicion of misconduct in a queen-dowager would furnish her enemies with an excuse for depriving her of the regency. Anne of Austria received these remonstrances very coolly, replying that "such alarms were groundless, because Mazarin had notoriously no passion for women, and belonged to

a country where people's inclinations were of a very different nature."*

Laporte, a servant of Anne of Austria, who had been closely imprisoned in the late reign, in order to induce him to betray some secrets of his mistress, but who had proved faithful to his trust, repeated the effort in which Mademoiselle d'Hautefort had failed. He remonstrated, in humble and affectionate terms, on the dangers she must encounter if popular suspicion were aroused; he warned her of the perils to which she was exposed in a court where every one was a spy on the rest; and reminded her of the misery which her predecessor, Marie de' Medici, had brought upon her head by her intrigues with the Marshal d'Ancre. With signs of impatience and vexation the queen listened to him: while he spoke, she kept drumming with her fan against the window, and tapping the floor with her foot, as if unable to refute his arguments, and yet determined not to admit their cogency; and finally dismissed him with a rebuke, which effectually closed his mouth for the future.†

Anne of Austria appears to have been a fond, but not a very judicious mother. She allowed Mazarin to direct the education of her sons, and he resolved to keep both as ignorant as possible. Even in childhood, the difference between the royal brothers was so great as to attract the notice of all who visited the palace. Louis was tall and well proportioned, with a light complexion and commanding physiognomy; Philip, on the other hand, was remarkably small for his age; his hair and eyebrows were jet black, his eyes large, dark, and brilliant; his face was long and narrow, his nose long, his mouth disproportionately small, and not a little disfigured by the irregularity of his teeth.‡ Their tastes were as different as their appearance: the king loved to play at soldiers with boys of his own age, and he daily drilled "the children of honor," as the young nobles, selected as his companions, were usually called. Monsieur, on the other hand, was shy and retiring, spending his time chiefly in his mother's apartments, petted by the ladies of the court, who sometimes amused themselves by dressing him as a girl, for they averred that nature had made a mistake in assigning him a different sex.§ Mademoiselle d'Orleans (destined to become a conspicuous heroine of the Fronde, and not, as her family had hoped, Queen of France) records that,

* Mémoires de Laporte. † Ibid.
‡ Mémoires de la Duchesse d'Orléans.
§ Mémoires de Laporte.

when she saw her royal cousins, she thought the younger of them one of the prettiest children in the world, but she seems to have disliked the more active and masculine habits of the elder.

Philip was supposed, if we are to believe his own account, to be quicker at learning than his elder brother—a circumstance which gave some uneasiness to Cardinal Mazarin; he therefore enjoined his preceptor to encourage him to spend his time in play, and never to force him to study. "What do you mean, M. La Mothe Vayer?"* asked Mazarin, one day; "do you want to make a clever man of the king's brother? If he knew more than the king, he would not yield him implicit obedience."† Such an education bore the fruit which might have been expected: Philip, both as Duke of Anjou and of Orleans, showed an utter distaste for art, literature, and science. "He wrote so badly," says his second wife, Elizabeth of Bavaria, "that he was often puzzled when he attempted to read his own handwriting; he used to bring his papers to me to decipher them for him, and say, with a smile, 'Madame, here is some writing to which you are accustomed; I wish you would read it for me.' We have often had a hearty laugh at this jest."‡

As he advanced towards manhood, the effeminacy of his tastes exposed him to much observation and some ridicule. "He loved only gaming, formal circles, good eating, and dress; in a word, all things that ladies love," is the description given of him by his second wife, who then proceeds to contrast his habits with those of Louis in the following terms: "The king loved the chase, music, and the drama; my husband took pleasure only in crowded assemblies and masquerades. His brother was conspicuous for his gallantry with ladies; I do not believe that my husband was ever in love during the whole course of his life. He danced well, but it was in the style of a lady; he could not dance like a man, because (to conceal his deficient stature) he wore high-heeled shoes. He could never be induced to mount a horse, except in time of war. When he was in the army, the soldiers used to say of him, that he was more afraid of being bronzed by the sun, or blackened by powder, than of either ball or bayonet; and that was true, for he loved battles. He was equally fond of building. He took so much pleasure in the sound of bells, that he used to come express to Paris at the feast of All Saints, to hear the knells rung for the vigil of the dead: he did not take pleasure in any other kind of

* Francis de la Mothe Vayer was the preceptor of Monsieur.
† Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans. ‡ Ibid.

music—for which he was frequently bantered by his acquaintances. He used often to laugh at himself, confessing that bell-ringing delighted him beyond expression. Paris pleased him more than any other place, because there he could have the aid of a secretary, and could live more commodiously than at Versailles."*

Louis throughout life was jealous and suspicious of his brother, whose affable manners rendered him a greater favorite with the populace than the king. Though Monsieur had served with some reputation in the army, and displayed great coolness and courage at the battle of Lenef, Louis compelled him to resign his military command, and, in spite of his earnest solicitations, would never again permit him to serve in the field. Philip, on the other hand, disliked but feared his brother; it is even said that he used to tremble in his presence, and never ventured to remonstrate against any royal command, however repugnant to his own feelings.

Anne of Austria was more attached to her younger than to her elder son: she hoped that marriage would cure his worst propensities, and she chose for his wife the most beautiful princess of the day, Henrietta Anne, daughter of Henrietta Maria and Charles I. of England. On the death, without male issue, of his uncle Gaston, Monsieur, with some difficulty, had obtained from his brother the title and fiefs of Orleans, a grant that brought him considerable wealth, and an exalted position which could not be affected by the caprice of the court. He was therefore considered a very eligible match for the Princess Henrietta, especially as her brother, Charles II., just restored to the throne of his ancestors, had neither the power nor the inclination to give her a large dowry. The marriage took place in 1661, immediately after the union of Louis XIV. with the Infanta Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV., King of Spain, and diffused joy everywhere—except in the hearts of the wedded pair.

The widowed queen of Charles I. had found a refuge in France during the protectorate of Cromwell, but had been treated with little generosity by Cardinal Mazarin. In fact, the miserable pittance assigned her as a pension was so irregularly paid, that she and her children often remained in bed during the cold days of winter, in want of the means of purchasing wood for a fire. The Princess Henrietta had a girlish liking for Louis, but he, probably prejudiced by the cardinal, regarded her with the most

* Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans.

marked aversion, and, as is hinted, treated her more than once with wanton insult. So convinced was Mazarin of the permanence of Cromwell's rule, that he refused the hand of his niece to the exiled Charles II., and would not allow the interests of that prince to be taken into consideration during the discussion of the Treaty of the Pyrenees. After the Restoration, Charles retorted the affront by refusing the proffered hand of Mazarin's niece, a rebuff which stung the haughty cardinal to the quick. When, therefore, it was proposed to unite the Duke of Orleans with Henrietta of England, Louis and Mazarin both opposed the match, the former actuated by dislike of the princess, and the latter by resentment against her brother. Louis long resisted the influence of his mother and aunt, but at length the urgency of Anne of Austria and Henrietta Maria prevailed. He consented that the marriage should take place on the return of the latter from the English court, whither she was about to repair, to have the happiness of witnessing the restoration of royalty.

As the English people ascribed much of the misconduct of Charles I. to the pernicious counsels of his queen, the return of Henrietta Maria to England was not very popular, especially as reports of her intrigues with the Earl of St. Albans (Jermyn), both before and after the death of her husband, were then current. And yet, although Horace Walpole speaks of

"Lustful Henrietta's Romish shade,"

the charges brought against her reputation are far from being satisfactorily established; but, it must be conceded, they received such credence in England, that it was proposed at the Restoration to exclude her from the realm of Britain by a special act of Parliament.* It was, however, urged in her favor, that she had invariably exhibited an affectionate attachment to England and the English during her exile, and that she had ever attributed the civil wars and the death of her husband to a fanatical faction, and not to the general body of the people.

The queen-dowager's journey to England was hastened by her anxiety to prevent the marriage of the Lady Anne Hyde, daughter of the lord chancellor, the celebrated Earl of Clarendon, with her second son, the Duke of York, afterwards James II. The lady had been delivered of a son six days before the arrival of the

* See Letter from Ignatius White to Sir G. Lane, dated May 12, 1660, in Carte's Collection.

queen, and only six weeks after her marriage with the duke, though there was said to have been a private marriage, or contract of marriage, about a year before. Henrietta was perfectly furious: she instigated Sir Charles Berkeley, a captain of the guards, to swear that he had intrigued with the lady, and believed himself to be the father of the child. Lord Clarendon was, or pretended to be, furious; he told the king, in the coarsest terms, that he had much rather his daughter should be the duke's mistress than his wife; he proposed that she should at once be sent to the Tower, and offered to introduce an act of Parliament for beheading her. But he took care to have the Countess of Ormond, the Countess of Sunderland, and "other ladies of known honor, present at her *accouchement.*" In their presence, and during the interval of her greatest pangs, the Bishop of Winchester asked her whether there was any truth in Berkeley's story, and whether she was innocent of any charge against her honor from whatever quarter it might proceed. The tortured lady averred that the child was the duke's, and that her purity had been grossly aspersed.*

This scandalous proceeding was protracted for about six weeks, but during that period the chancellor contrived to overcome the queen-mother's scruples by engaging to procure a vote of Parliament for the payment of Henrietta's debts.† The marriage was then openly acknowledged; the nobility and gentry paid their respects to the Duchess of York, and she was formally visited by the queen-mother and her two daughters, the Princess of Orange, and the Princess Henrietta. The death of the elder of these sisters from small-pox, a short time afterwards, did not check the festivities of the court, and, indeed, served rather to hasten the preparations for the marriage of the younger.

Henrietta Anne, the youngest daughter of Charles I., was never seen by her unfortunate father. She was born at Bedford House, Exeter, June 16, 1644, when the Civil War was raging fiercely. Ten days after her birth, her mother was forced to seek refuge in France, and the infant princess was intrusted to the care of the Countess of Morton,‡ who had charge of her for about two years.

* In the end, Berkeley withdrew the charge, and said, "he only lied for the good and honor of the royal family." His loyalty was rewarded with the office of keeper of the privy purse, and the title of Earl of Falmouth.

† "The queen, Henrietta Maria, would fain have undone it, but it seems matters were reconciled on great offers of the chancellor's to befriend the queen, who was much in debt, and who was now to have the settlement of her affairs go through her own hands."—Evelyn.

‡ Daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, niece to George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, and wife of Robert Douglas, Earl of Morton.

At the end of that time, the royal cause being desperate, the countess fled in disguise to Paris, and restored the child to its mother. Waller has written a poem complimenting the countess on her fidelity to her charge, and congratulating her on her successful escape. The verses have undeservedly fallen almost into oblivion, and may therefore be quoted:—

"Madam! new years may well expect to find
Welcome from you, to whom they are so kind;
Still, as they pass, they court and smile on you,
And make your beauty, as themselves, seem new.
To the fair Villiers we Dalkeith prefer,
And fairest Morton now as much to her:
So, like the sun's advance, your titles show,
Which, as he rises, does the warmer grow.

"But, thus to style you fair, your sex's praise,
Gives you but myrtle, who may challenge bays:
From armèd foes to bring a royal prize
Shows your vain heart victorious as your eyes.
If Judith, marching with the general's head,
Can give us passion when her story's read,
What may the living do, which brought away
Though a less bloody, yet a nobler prey;
Who, from our flaming Troy, with a bold hand,
Snatched her fair charge, the princess, like a brand?
A brand! preserved to warm some prince's heart,
And make whole kingdoms take her brother's part.
So Venus, from prevailing Greeks, did shroud
The hope of Rome, and saved him in a cloud.

"This gallant act may cancel all our rage,
Begin a better and absolve this age.
Dark shades become the portrait of our time:
Here weeps Misfortune, and there triumphs Crime!
Let him that draws it hide the rest in night;
This portion only may endure the light;
Where the kind nymph, changing her faultless shape,
Becomes unhandsome, handsomely to 'scape;
When through the guards, the river, and the sea,
Faith, Beauty, Wit, and Courage made their way.
As the brave eagle does with sorrow see
The forest wasted, and that lofty tree
Which holds her nest about to be o'erthrown,
Before the feathers of her young are grown,—
She will not leave them, nor she cannot stay,
But bears them boldly on her wings away,—
So fled the dame, and o'er the ocean bore
Her princely burden to the Gallic shore.
Born in the storms of war, this royal fair—
(Produced like lightning in tempestuous air,

Though now she flies her native isle, less kind,
Less safe for her, than either sea or wind!)—
Shall, when the blossom of her beauty's blown,
See her great brother on the British throne,
Where peace shall smile, and no dispute arise;
But which rules most—his sceptre, or her eyes?"

The childhood of the young princess was passed either in Paris or its vicinity; and as she grew up, her charming person and fascinating manners delighted every one but the king, whose aversion from her appeared at once invincible and inexplicable.* She was the favorite of her mother; and Anne of Austria is said to have loved her as much as if she had been one of her own children. Her future husband, Monsieur, had not, in early life, shown her many marks of affection; and, although he expressed great eagerness to conclude the marriage, and wrote most pressing letters to hasten her return from England, his ardor was not the result of affection, but simply of anxiety to obtain an establishment independent of his brother. The princess, though flattered by his solicitations, does not appear to have mistaken their motive. It was to gratify Anne of Austria rather than the Duke of Orleans, that Henrietta and her mother consented to return to Paris in the most inclement season of the year.

Pepys declares that the beauty of the Princess Henrietta did not excite his admiration;† but, during her residence in England, she captivated the heart of the second Duke of Buckingham (son of the duke whose romantic attachment had nearly proved fatal to Anne of Austria),‡ though he had previously been in love with her sister, the widowed Princess of Orange. When her return to France was decided, Buckingham obtained permission from Charles to escort the queen-mother and the Princess Henrietta to Paris.

The royal party embarked at Portsmouth for Havre; but they had not been long at sea before a violent storm arose, which drove the vessel on a sand-bank, where she was for a time in imminent danger of going to pieces. Buckingham's conduct at this crisis was most outrageous: maddened by the danger to which he saw the princess exposed, he gave free vent to his passion, and dis-

* Mémoires de Madame de la Fayette.

† "The Princess Henrietta is very pretty, but much below my expectation; and her dressing of herself with her hair frizzed short up her ears, did make her seem so much the less to me. But my wife standing near her, with two or three black patches on, and well dressed, did seem to me much handsomer than she."—*Diary of Pepys.*

‡ This romantic historical episode is detailed with little aid from fiction in Dumas's *Trois Mousquetaires.*

closed his secret to every person in the ship. They were rescued from their perilous situation, but were obliged to put into the nearest port for repairs. Here the princess caught the measles, but her illness was not known until the vessel was at sea, and by the time she reached Havre fears were entertained for her life. Buckingham now conducted himself more extravagantly than before; and his proceedings excited so much notice and scandal, that the queen-mother found it necessary to interfere: she insisted that Buckingham should proceed to Paris, to fulfil the duties of his mission. The duke obeyed very reluctantly, and in the course of about a week was followed by the queen and the princess.*

Monsieur, on hearing of the approach of his intended bride, hastened to meet her on the road, bringing with him the Count de Guiche, who had been known to Henrietta from childhood, and who was now most warmly recommended to her notice and friendship by her future husband. The favor which the princess showed the Count de Guiche excited the jealousy of the Duke of Buckingham; his indiscretions indeed became the theme of conversation throughout Paris, and Monsieur made a formal complaint to Anne of Austria and Henrietta of England. For a time, the two queens succeeded in soothing his annoyance, but Buckingham's incurable folly urged him to fresh excesses, until at length he was civilly informed that he was expected to return to England so soon as the formalities of his mission were completed.

To gratify the impatience of Monsieur, it was resolved that the marriage should be celebrated before the end of Lent; and as all public festivities during this season are prohibited by the Church, it was decided that the ceremony should be performed privately at the Palais Royal, in the presence only of the royal family, and their immediate attendants. On the 31st of March, the Bishop of Valence celebrated the marriage rites, which were shorn of their usual pride, pomp, and circumstance. This omission caused the superstitious multitude to prognosticate that the union would be as destitute of happiness in its course, as it was of splendor in its commencement. Those who drew such an inference might afterwards have plumed themselves on their skill in the correct interpretation of omens; but, without any extraordinary foresight, all who were acquainted with the characters and dispositions of the duke and duchess, might easily have foreseen that they were not formed to enjoy happiness together.

* Mémoires de Madame de la Fayette.

CHAPTER III.

MADAME DE THIANGES.—THE COUNTESS DE SOISSONS.—HER SISTERS.—THE COUNT DE GUICHE.—LOUIS XIV. AND THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.—MADEMOISELLE LA VALLIERE.—THE KING'S PASSION FOR HER.—MADEMOISELLE MONTALAIS.—BIRTH OF THE DAUPHIN.—SCHEMES OF MADEMOISELLE MONTALAIS AND THE COUNT DE GUICHE.—ESCAPE OF LA VALLIERE.—THE MARQUIS DE VARDES AND THE COUNTESS DE SOISSONS.—PLOTS AND COUNTER-PLOTS.—DISCOVERY OF THEM.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS FAVORITE THE CHEVALIER DE LORRAINE.—DEATH OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA.—WAR WITH HOLLAND.—FRENCH VAUNTS.—DUTCH PASQUINADES AND CARICATURES.—NEGOTIATION OF LOUIS XIV. WITH CHARLES II. OF ENGLAND.—THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS DISPATCHED THITHER.—MADEMOISELLE DE KERONAILLE, AFTERWARDS DUCHESS OF PORTSMOUTH.—RETURN TO FRANCE OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.—HER ILLNESS.—THE MARQUIS D'EFFIAT.—HIS PLOT.—HOW IT WAS FORMED.—DEATH OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.

A SHORT time before the marriage of Monsieur with the Princess Henrietta, it was reported in the court circles, that he had begun to pay very marked attention to Madame de Thianges, daughter of the Duke of Montemart, but their intercourse never went farther than libertine conversation, which, at this period, was the prevailing vice of the court. It was, however, observed that the prince was as jealous of the lady as if she had really been his mistress, and that he suffered manifest pain when she evinced pleasure in receiving the attentions of others. Jealousy, indeed, was his predominant passion, but it never prompted him to acts of violence; he suffered in secret, and tried to disguise his grief from his most intimate associates.

One of the most remarkable ladies of the court, at the time of Henrietta's marriage, was the Countess de Soissons, niece of Cardinal Mazarin. Notwithstanding the king's marriage, she hoped to be able to recover his affections, relying on their ancient familiarity, and on her having been the first object of his youthful passion. Though her charms, when she arrived at maturity, did not quite fulfill the promise of her girlhood, her person, if not beautiful, was very pleasing. Her intellect was neither of a high

order, nor had it been carefully cultivated; but her disposition was naturally kind, and she was beloved by all her acquaintances. Her uncle's immense fortune precluded the necessity of restraint on any of her inclinations; and the freedom she consequently assumed, joined to her lively spirit and ardent temperament, rendered her incapable of submitting to anything inconsistent with her own wishes. She was naturally ambitious, and at the time when the king was enslaved by her, the throne did not seem an elevation disproportioned to her estimate of her own pretensions. Her uncle, who fondly loved her, was not disinclined to aid her in aspiring to royalty; but the astrologers he consulted unanimously assured him that she was predestined by her horoscope never to wear a crown: he therefore laid aside the design, and married her to the Count de Soissons. She had, however, still preserved her credit with the king, and retained the liberty of speaking to him more frankly than others ventured to do: this led to a suspicion that there were occasions when gallantry still formed a part of their conversation.

Still, it is improbable that she ever had a chance of recovering the king's affections; for Louis, throughout his life, was more influenced by the manifestation of strong attachment to himself than by personal charms or mental qualifications. He had loved the Countess de Soissons before her marriage, but he ceased to love her so soon as he suspected that she was not insensible to the homage of Villequier. Perhaps he wronged her by such a suspicion; indeed, there is some proof that he was mistaken, for the countess was so incapable of restraint, that, if she had really loved him, her passion would have been exhibited before all the world. But as the king had quitted her on a mere suspicion that she had loved another, he was not likely to come back to her when he had a perfect certainty that she returned the passion of the Marquis de Vardes.

Two other nieces of the cardinal, Mary and Hortense Mancini, were believed to have formed designs on the king's heart. His passion for the former had nearly induced him to marry her, in spite of his mother and the cardinal; but subsequently, having learned that she had evinced some partiality for Duke Charles, nephew of the Duke of Lorraine, he treated her with a coldness as marked as was his former warmth. Hortense was the most beautiful and the most witty of the cardinal's nieces; she had been married to a relative, M. de Mazarin, equally destitute of elegance of mind and grace of person, but with sufficient sense to be conscious of his own deficiencies. Aware of the striking con-

trast between himself and a royal lover, possessing such qualifications as Louis XIV., he withdrew his wife from the court, and took care that she should see the king as seldom as possible.

Henrietta's appearance at court after her marriage, created an unparalleled sensation in Paris: her beauty, her wit, and her readiness in repartee, took the world by surprise. Hitherto, she had only been seen in the queen-mother's circle, where rigid etiquette condemned her to almost total silence; but she now became the centre of a circle of her own—the most brilliant ornament of a brilliant assembly. The king and queen went to Fontainebleau. Madame remained for a time at the Tuileries, where "all the men crowded to offer her homage, and all the women to court her friendship."

No one was more assiduous in his attentions than the Count de Guiche, who took as little care to conceal his passion as Buckingham himself;* and it was soon whispered that there was no one whose devotion was more acceptable. He was aided by his sister, Madame de Valentinois, whom Monsieur loved both for her brother's sake and her own; indeed, she had all the influence over him of which his unsusceptible heart was capable, though

*Monsieur was himself the cause of the intrigue between Madame and the Count de Guiche. He was one of the favorites of my late husband, and was said to have been very handsome in his youth. Monsieur entreated Madame to extend her affections to the Count de Guiche, and to admit him to her presence on all occasions. The count, who was haughty to all the world, but full of vanity, exerted all his powers to please Madame, and to render himself beloved. He succeeded, in fact, being seconded by his aunt, Madame de Chaumont, who was governess to the children of Madame. One day Madame went into this lady's chamber, under the pretext of seeing her children, but really to have an interview with de Guiche. She had a *valet de chambre*, named Launay, whom I afterwards saw in the service of Monsieur. He was ordered to keep watch on the stairs, and give warning if Monsieur approached. He suddenly ran in, exclaiming, "Monsieur is coming down!" The lovers were frightened; the count could not escape through the ante-chamber, which was filled by Monsieur's people. Launay said, "I know but one means, and I will put it in practice on the spot: hide yourself, count, behind the door." He then ran plump against Monsieur, and struck his head so hard against his nose, that it bled very freely. At the same time he cried, "Monseigneur, I did not know you were so near; I was only hastening to open the door." Madame and Madame de Chaumont ran up in apparent terror with their handkerchiefs, with which they so cleverly covered his face and eyes that the Count de Guiche was enabled to make off undetected. Monsieur saw that some one was running away, but he thought that it was Launay endeavoring to escape a scolding, and he never discovered the truth.—*Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans.*

she never excited the jealousy of Madame. Among other ladies of the Orleans Court, we find the names of Mesdemoiselles Crequi, Chatillon, and Tonnay-Charente, afterwards the celebrated Madame de Montespan. The chief favorites of Madame were Mademoiselle de la Tremouille and Madame de la Fayette.*

In the middle of summer, Monsieur and Madame went to join the court at Fontainebleau. It was now that the king discovered how false had been his estimate of the princess in her childhood, and he attached himself to his lovely sister-in-law with such undisguised ardor, that the queen was plunged into the deepest affliction. All the parties of pleasure, and all the diversions of the palace, were arranged by Henrietta: when she drove to the bath, the king rode by her carriage; when she took an airing on horseback, the king was at her side. Anne of Austria was indignant at the insult thus offered to the charms of her niece, the queen;† and she remonstrated with Madame; but Henrietta, who remembered very keenly the restraint in which she had been kept by the queen-mother during her early youth, now retorted with absolute defiance, and formed a close intimacy with the Countess de Soissons, who had long been an object of jealousy and aversion to the queen and the queen-mother. Anne of Austria found her son equally indisposed to listen to her advice. Louis and Henrietta were constantly together; both were amiable, both naturally prone to gallantry; their attachment to each other, however innocent, would probably in the end have led them into guilt, had not the attention of the king been diverted by another passion.

Anne of Austria exerted herself with success to rouse the jealousy of Monsieur, whose remonstrances with Henrietta, and of the two queens with Louis, severally convinced both, that it was necessary to place some control on their inclinations, or, at least, to make some sacrifice to appearances; accordingly, it was resolved that the king should feign an intrigue with some of the

* See Mémoires de Madame de la Fayette.

† Henrietta was the confidente of the king, to whom it was insinuated that policy required him to give some occupation to Monsieur, who would otherwise have leisure to win the affections of the court and the people. I heard this from the king himself. My late husband never questioned his (first) wife on the subject of her flirtations with the king, his brother-in-law; he gave me the history of his whole life, and, had he believed in the existence of such an intrigue, he would not have passed it over in silence. In this matter I think scandal wronged Madame.—*Mémoires de la (seconde) Duchesse d'Orléans.*

ladies of Madame's court, three of whom were pointed out as worthy of his attentions. These Graces were—Mademoiselle de Pons, a relative of the Marshal d'Albrèt—but she had been educated in the provinces, and retained awkward traces of rusticity; Mademoiselle Chémerault, an avowed coquette, not remarkable for secrecy or prudence; and Mademoiselle la Vallière, who was beautiful, young, and eminently remarkable for the amiable simplicity of her manners. La Vallière was not distinguished either by birth or fortune;* her mother's second husband was M. Saint-Remy, first *maître d'hôtel* to the House of Orleans; so that she had passed her youth at Orleans or Blois, from whence she was transferred to the service of Madame.

The intrigue, thus begun in sport, or as a blind, became serious, when accident† revealed to Louis that La Vallière loved him with all the intensity of genuine passion. To be loved as a man, not as a king, was a favorite fancy of Louis XIV.; La Vallière quite won his heart, and soon became the sole object of his assiduities. Madame was much chagrined by the king's devotion to his new mistress. It could hardly be said that she was jealous, but she showed the natural feelings of a woman when the exalted homage to which she had long been accustomed was openly transferred to another. The king, for some time, took great care to disguise his new passion; he never met La Vallière in the public assemblies, or in the daily promenades; but during the evening drives he attached himself to her *calèche*, the door of which was so constructed as to favor conversation.

Anne of Austria was one of the first to discover her son's passion for La Vallière, which gave her the deepest mortification. At her instigation, Monsieur imperatively insisted that Henrietta should dismiss La Vallière, a demand which Madame, anxious to avoid a quarrel with the king, as peremptorily refused. The scandal respecting the Count de Guiche reached Monsieur's ears about the same time, and added to the indignation he felt at his wife's rejection of his advice. He had an interview with the count, in which both parties lost their temper; and the expressions used by De Guiche were so disrespectful, that it became necessary for him to retire from court. Henrietta, who was at

* Bussy Rabutin, who was, however, a personal enemy of La Vallière, says that she was descended from a family engaged in some humble trade at Tours.—See *L'Histoire Amoreuse des Gaules*, p. 236.

† This incident is cleverly narrated by Miss Pardoe, to whose interesting and amusing work, "Louis XIV. and the Court of France in the Seventeenth Century," we refer the reader.

the time confined by a slight indisposition, received this intelligence from the king himself, who came to visit her in her chamber. Madame de Valentinois made several attempts to protect her brother from the consequences of his imprudence; she declared to Henrietta that the count was an admirer, not a lover; she begged of Monsieur to restore his confidence to a friend who was imprudent rather than guilty; but finding that she was not believed either by Monsieur or Madame, she parted with them on bad terms, and went to join her husband, the Prince of Monaco, in his capital.

The king was very anxious that La Vallière should have no confidente; but it was impossible that a young and enthusiastic girl, of moderate capacity, should be able to keep to herself so great a secret as that of being beloved by a king. Madame had among her attendants a young lady named Montalais, possessing great energy and spirit, and a natural turn for intrigue, but deficient in sense, prudence, and caution. She had been brought up in the seclusion of the court kept at Blois by the duchess-dowager of Lorraine, to whom she had been maid of honor. "Her want of knowledge of the world, and her superabundance of gallantry, rendered her peculiarly fit to become a confidente." She had already been admitted into the confidence of La Vallière at Blois, where that lady had been courted by a young man named Bragelone: some letters had passed between the lovers, but Madame Saint Remy discovered the clandestine correspondence, and nipped the intrigue in the bud. This did not, however, prevent the king from being most sensitively jealous on the subject.

La Vallière having thus constantly near her a girl in whom she had previously confided, resolved to trust her again, but with a far more important secret; and as Montalais had more energy of mind than herself, she took great pleasure in telling her the secrets of her heart, and received comfort and support from her confidente's consolatory assurances. But Montalais was not satisfied with the confidence of La Vallière; she wished to have that of Madame likewise.* Conjecturing that this princess had no aversion for the Count de Guiche, she sought his acquaintance, and wrung from him the secret of his attachment; in return, she

* Madame de la Fayette mentions several other intrigues in which Montalais was the chief go-between. She was at once inquisitive and garrulous; so that her imprudence led to a host of quarrels and scandals, which were far from edifying to the court. It is said that she wrote memoirs which were suppressed by authority, by which the lovers of court-gossip were doubtless deprived of a rich treat.

promised to aid his passion to the utmost of her power—and she was faithful to her word.

On All Saints' day, A. D. 1661, the queen was delivered of the dauphin. Madame, who was herself far advanced in pregnancy, remained all the day with her sister-in-law, and retired at night to her chamber, worn out, and alone. Montalais seized the opportunity to declare the passion, and plead the cause, of the Count de Guiche, and succeeded so far as to induce Henrietta to receive letters from her admirer, the correspondence being conducted through the intervention of Mademoiselle Montalais. This intriguing young lady was, however, unwilling to keep letters of such dangerous consequence in her own possession; she placed them in the hands of one of her lovers, named Malicorne, with strict injunctions to keep them safe and secret.

Various disguises were contrived by Montalais, in order to procure the Count de Guiche stolen interviews with Madame; and Henrietta, blind to the consequences of such conduct, looked upon adventures like these as mere pleasantries of romance. Shortly after the birth of her first child, Maria Louisa, as Henrietta lay in bed, surrounded by all the ladies of her court, De Guiche was introduced to her apartment disguised as a gipsy fortune-teller, and told fortunes to every lady in the room, without being detected by any one of those whom he was in the habit of meeting every day of his life; and, moreover, was so rash as to tell the tale of these adventures to the Marquis de Vardes. Madame was much annoyed by this imprudence, and insisted that he should break off all acquaintance with the Marquis; but De Guiche replied, "I have no objection to fight him, if you wish it; but I cannot withdraw my confidence from a friend."

Montalais, like most intriguers of her class, was, as we have intimated, somewhat of a babbler; she told the romantic adventures of De Guiche to Madame La Vallière, having first enjoined her to say nothing of the matter to the king. Louis, who had stipulated that La Vallière should withhold no secrets from him, soon discovered, from the embarrassment and agitation of this simple girl, that something had been concealed: he flew into a violent passion, covered his mistress with reproaches, and left her in tears. Louis and La Vallière had agreed that, should they ever quarrel, a night should not pass over without their reconciliation. Montalais, whom she had bitterly reproached for having been the cause of this misunderstanding, consoled her by reminding her of this compact with her royal lover; but the night passed over without any message from the king, and in the morning the despair-

ing La Vallière, concealing her intention from everybody, quitted the Tuileries, and sought shelter in an obscure convent near Chaillot.

Great was the confusion when the escape of La Vallière became known; Louis was distracted; inquiries were made in every direction, and at length the place of her concealment was discovered. The king instantly mounted his horse and rode to the convent; he found his mistress stretched on the floor in the outer parlor, in a passion of grief so intense that fears were entertained for the preservation of her senses. The king had a long and private interview with her; she confessed to him all she had concealed, but without obtaining pardon. Louis, however, used such entreaties as were likely to induce her to return, and a carriage was ordered, to bring her back.

In the mean time, however, it was necessary to secure her a reception on her return. Monsieur had expressed great joy at her departure, and had declared that she should never again enter his household; Madame had shown no desire to resist this resolution of her husband, which would have delivered her from a rival in the favor of the king. Having entered the Tuileries by a private door, Louis sent for his sister-in-law; he detailed to her the cause of his quarrel with La Vallière, which included the history of her own perilous intrigues with the Count de Guiche. Madame was surprised and confounded; she made no attempt to deny the charge, and readily promised that she would receive back La Vallière, and cease all communication with the Count de Guiche.

Louis next sought Montalais, who was very anxious to repair the mischief she had done. When questioned as to the affair of Bragelone, she represented it as such a trifle, that the confidence of the king (who had begun to suspect that he had not been the first object of La Vallière's passion) was perfectly restored. This reconciliation gave deep annoyance to the Countess de Soissons, who had for a moment hoped that she would be able to recover her influence over the king. She now consulted her lover, the Marquis de Vardes, on the subject; and they agreed that their only chance was to reveal the intrigue to the queen, and that the best mode was to convey it in a letter, which should appear to come from Madrid. For this purpose, the envelop of a letter which the queen had received from her father, the King of Spain, was stolen from the royal cabinet by the Countess of Soissons; and De Guiche, who understood Spanish, was induced by his friendship for Vardes to prepare the letter, which was

then copied by a Flemish trader on the point of leaving Paris without any intention to return.

The letter was delivered to one of the porters at the Louvre, with directions that it should be carried immediately to the Signora Molina, the first lady of the bed-chamber to the queen. Molina was surprised at the strange mode in which the letter had been delivered; she observed, too, that it was not folded in the Spanish fashion, and that there was an informality in the seal. Urged by the instinct of suspicion rather than the dictates of reason, she opened the letter, read it, and, alarmed by the contents, laid it immediately before the king. Louis was furious; he resolved to discover the author of the letter, and, singularly enough, intrusted this commission to Vardes, whose complicity he was far from imagining. This practiced intriguer contrived to throw the suspicion of his own forgery on Madame de Nivailles, one of the ladies in waiting to the young queen, for whom the king thenceforth entertained the most violent aversion.

Vardes, who had begun to grow weary of his intrigue with the Countess de Soissons, fell in love about this time with Madame, and consequently exercised all his ingenuity to remove his friend and rival, the Count de Guiche, from her presence. He went to the Marshal de Grammont, revealed to him the perilous adventures in which his son was involved, and so alarmed his paternal fears, that, having procured for him the command of the forces assembled at Nancy, he ordered De Guiche to proceed thither immediately to attend to his military duties.

Madame, who believed that the count had himself solicited this employment, was very indignant at his apparent desertion, while it was with difficulty that De Guiche was prevented from resigning his commission. That convenient agent, Montalais, though she had promised the king to do all in her power to prevent any correspondence between Madame and De Guiche, now offered her services to arrange for them the opportunity of a parting interview. While the royal family were at dinner, the count came to the Louvre, where he was concealed by Montalais in an oratory. After dinner, Madame, pretending to be sleepy, proceeded to her chamber, but stopped as she passed through the gallery to bid adieu to her lover. In the midst of their conversation notice was given that Monsieur was approaching, and De Guiche was forced to hide himself in a chimney. Here he remained for some hours before he could venture to escape; at length Montalais came to his assistance, and enabled him, as she believed, to quit the palace undiscovered.

Montalais was mistaken: one of her companions named Artigni, a girl of loose character, hated her exceedingly; and suspecting some intrigue, she and a spy named Merlot, kept so close a watch that they saw De Guiche enter Madame's apartments. Artigni communicated her discovery to the queen-mother, who sent Madame de la Basinière to communicate it to her son. Monsieur immediately turned Montalais and one of her companions out of doors, without even giving them time to pack up their clothes. Montalais, however, had the presence of mind to ask for the casket containing the letters of Madame and De Guiche; with this important depository she retired to her sister's house, while Monsieur informed Madame, who had not yet risen, of the dismissal of her attendants. He then sought the queen-dowager of England, to whom he passionately detailed his wrongs, requesting her to remonstrate with her daughter on the impropriety of her behavior.

Queen Henrietta was not exactly the person to reprove frailties efficiently, for her own intrigues were sometimes the subject of comment; she however went to her daughter, censured her slightly, told her how much Monsieur had discovered, and recommended her to make a merit of confessing just so much as might be called indiscreet, but could not be condemned as criminal. Henrietta immediately sought an explanation with her husband. She confessed to him that she had received one, and but one, visit from the Count de Guiche, and that she had interchanged letters with him three or four times. Monsieur pardoned his wife, embraced her, and merely exacted a promise that she would have no intercourse with Montalais. A similar injunction was given to La Vallière by the king.

Montalais, who could not endure to be thus set aside, wrote some long and very imprudent letters to La Vallière, which fell into the king's hands. Enraged at her presumption, Louis ordered her to be taken into custody by an exempt, and to be conveyed to Fontevrault, without being permitted to speak to any body. She had been so fortunate as to save the casket of letters she had sent to her lover Malicorne; and her captivity being protracted, Malicorne, aware of the importance of the letters, resolved to turn them to advantage, and, through a friend named Corbinelli, offered them for sale. It happened that Vardes was acquainted with Corbinelli: and perceiving at a glance how much his designs on Madame would be forwarded by the possession of the casket, he purchased it from Malicorne and Corbinelli for a considerable sum. At the same time he wrote to De Guiche, that Madame had aban-

doned him for Marsillac, the eldest son of the Duke de Rochefoucault, a tale which was not destitute of probability; for Marsillac's passionate admiration of the princess had already caused some scandal, and had led to angry words between him and Monsieur. De Guiche replied to Vardes, whose story he implicitly believed, in a long letter, in which little respect was displayed for the feelings or character of Madame. Vardes showed her this document, at which she was so exasperated, that she commanded him to demand all the letters she had written to De Guiche. They were recovered without difficulty; and Madame and Vardes met in the parlor of the convent of Chaillot, where these papers and the letters formerly intrusted to Montalais were destroyed. It was, however, subsequently believed that Vardes had abstracted and preserved some of the most important of these documents. While the arrangements for their recovery were in progress, Vardes had several opportunities, which he did not neglect, of declaring his passion to Madame. She did not discourage his suit, but he was slower in his advances than she wished, for he feared to rouse the jealousy of the Countess de Soissons, with whom he had been long and intimately connected.

In the mean time Louis visited Lorraine, where he had frequent interviews with De Guiche. The count, still actuated by resentment at the false information transmitted by Vardes, confessed to the king all his intrigues with Madame; a piece of indiscretion, or rather of treachery, which filled Henrietta with just indignation. Soon afterwards De Guiche obtained leave to take service in Poland, and thus Vardes saw his most formidable rival removed to a distance from France. He succeeded soon after in making Monsieur so jealous of Marsillac, that the young nobleman was ordered to quit the court; and he then embroiled Henrietta with the principal ladies of her court, and made an ineffectual effort to involve her in a quarrel with the king.

At length, the Countess de Soissons began to suspect the fidelity of Vardes, which she took so much to heart that she fell ill: in this state she requested that Madame would pay her a visit, a request with which Henrietta, who had a sincere friendship for the countess, readily complied. In this interview, the countess reproached Madame with her intrigue with Vardes, saying that, if it was an affair of gallantry, it was an unfair interference with her claims, and that if it was friendship, it ought not to have been concealed from her. Henrietta said everything she could to soothe the countess, and to convince her of the groundlessness of her suspicions; and at the close of the conference Vardes was sum-

moned, at the earnest solicitation of Madame, when a formal reconciliation took place between him and the countess.

Vardes, however, fell into the error of finessing too much. He undertook to deceive two ladies, and became suspected by both. Madame and the countess had a second interview, in which they exchanged candid confessions and explanations. This brought to light an unexampled series of intrigues and perfidies. Both vowed hostility to Vardes for the future: Henrietta kept her word, but after the lapse of a few weeks the countess again received him as her lover.

Shortly after this, De Guiche returned from Poland. His passion for Madame was revived with more than its former intensity, but she steadily refused to see him or to receive any of his letters. Chance, however, favored him. Monsieur and Madame went disguised to a masked ball; at the door they met a party of unknown masks, and proposed to join company. They did so, and Madame gave her arm to De Guiche, who at once recognized her by the peculiar perfume of her gloves. He availed himself of this opportunity to give and receive explanations of all that had been done during his absence. The whole treachery of Vardes was thus revealed, and De Guiche vowed that he would take the life of his perfidious friend. Henrietta was by no means anxious that her name should be brought before the public by a duel fought on her account; accordingly, she was too glad to take advantage of an incautious insult hazarded by Vardes to make her complaint to the king. Vardes was sent to the Bastile, and, after his liberation, was ordered to leave the court and accept the government of a distant province.

The Countess of Soissons, now finding that the friendship and enmity of Madame alike deprived her of the company of her beloved Vardes, went to the king, and complained that Madame had only interfered to save De Guiche, and that both of them were deceiving the king; she was even so imprudent as to reveal his share in the forgery of the Spanish letter. Louis repeated what he had heard to Henrietta, who immediately communicated it to De Guiche through his father, the Marshal de Grammont, at the same time advising him, when interrogated on the subject, to confess everything with the utmost candor. The king, who did not suspect any concert between De Guiche and Henrietta, was favorably impressed by the exact coincidence of their two narratives: his dislike of Vardes was greatly increased; and the Countess of Soissons was made to feel that she had incurred his serious displeasure.

Marshal de Grammont soon perceived that it was not safe to put faith in his son's discretion; and finding that he was again exercising his ingenuity to obtain interviews with Madame, commanded him to retire to Holland; and when De Guiche fell sick from grief and vexation, he only hastened the preparations for his departure. The lover, however, resolved not to set out, until he had obtained a farewell interview with Madame. He disguised himself in the livery of one of La Vallière's servants, and kept watch in the streets until Henrietta passed by in an open litter. He then attempted to bid her farewell, but, overcome by emotion and fatigue, he fainted: and his friends, fearing a discovery, hastily conveyed him away. Madame with great difficulty suppressed a shriek; her eyes followed him until he was borne into a house, and she never saw him again.

Through life Monsieur was ruled by unworthy favorites. His chief and most confidential adviser was the Chevalier de Lorraine, of the house of Armagnac, who, to secure his own interest, made it his chief object to keep Philip in constant hostility to his brother and Madame. He induced the prince to demand an independent government from the king, which Louis refused, at the same time reproaching him with betraying the secrets of the state: he added that, in consequence of his indiscretion, he had felt himself constrained to remove him from the privy council. Several requests of a like nature having been preferred, as if for the express purpose of provoking refusals, Louis suspected that his timid brother must have been impelled to such sudden audacity by some secret adviser. He soon discovered the agency of the insidious favorite. He ordered the chevalier to be arrested, which was done whilst he was closeted with his patron, and he was sent to the fortress of Pierre-Encise. For a moment, Philip of Orleans seemed disposed to emulate the turbulent proceedings of Gaston, his uncle and predecessor. He immediately retired to Villers-Coteret, and declared that he would not return to court until the chevalier were restored to liberty and his presence. Upon this, Louis dispatched M. Colbert to remonstrate with his brother; but finding him perversely obstinate, he ordered the chevalier to be transferred to the Château d'If,* and to be prevented from communicating, either by word or letter, with any one but the officers of

* This fortress, situated on the Marguerite island, opposite Cannes, is powerfully and accurately described by Alexandre Dumas in his well-known romance, "Monte-Christo." It is also memorable as the prison of the Man in the Iron Mask, and of Mirabeau.

the prison. Philip could resist no longer; and he returned to court moody and discontented, while his favorite was permitted to go into honorable exile to Rome.

Anne of Austria was no longer present to exercise any influence over her sons. Finding herself neglected by Louis, and unable to endure the insults offered to the queen, her niece, by the king's ostentatious devotion to La Vallière, she retired to Val de Grâce, where on January 20, 1666, she died, obscure and neglected. Louis celebrated her obsequies with great magnificence, and sonnets, odes, and epigrams were addressed to the memory of "the daughter, sister, and mother of kings."* Under this pomp, was concealed the fact that Anne of Austria died in the sixty-fourth year of her age, a victim to ingratitude and disappointment.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle extended the frontiers of France into the Netherlands, and exposed the Republic of Holland to great danger. Since their high mightinesses, the States-General, had acted as mediators during the negotiations, they began to assume a higher tone in their diplomacy, by no means pleasing to the monarchical power, but peculiarly offensive to Louis XIV., who was the prototype of Napoleon in his groundless contempt for nations of shopkeepers. Republican pride and despotic haughtiness being thus brought into contact, it was scarcely possible that a collision could be avoided; and within a few months after the signature of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, preparations for war began to be made throughout Europe.

"It is cause and quarrel enough," says old Fuller, "to bring a sheep to the shambles, that it be fat." The commercial wealth of Holland; its territory, redeemed as if by magic from the ocean; its grand arsenals, occupying the whole course of the Zuyder Zee: these and other riches attracted the ambition and cupidity of Louis XIV., who was not very scrupulous in devising pretexts for an invasion.† The French nobility, who were not yet recovered from the excitement produced by the wars of the Fronde, eagerly demanded to be led to some field of battle, where they could display their martial spirit. They spoke of the proximity of Amsterdam and the Hague, declaring that ten days would

* The following is the best of these effusions:—

"*Et soror, et conjux, et mater, nataque regum,*
Nulla unquam tanto sanguine digna fuit."

The couplet, however, may pass either for a sarcasm or a panegyric.

† See *La France Démasquée*, a pamphlet published at the Hague in 1670.

suffice for the conquest of the new republic. What obstacle, they asked, could prevent the subjugation of Holland? The Dutch were only a set of beer-drinking, heavy-built boors and shopkeepers, whose dull spirits and lazy carcasses could not resist the ardent and impetuous nobility of France: the word was only wanting for them to march, and add a new province to the monarchy, which would be the richest jewel of its crown.

Such vaunts provoked indignant replies. The Dutch, aided by the exiled Huguenots, sent forth a shower of pamphlets and pasquinades; but, what provoked Louis infinitely more, they published poignant caricatures of his favorite medals.* The king had taken for his device the sun in its meridian splendor, with the motto *Nec pluribus impar* (not unequal to the many); the Dutch produced a medal, representing this sun with its rays broken and obscured by the tempests and waves of the seas of Holland, and having for its motto *In conspectu meo stetit sol* (in my sight the sun stood still). The camp shared the indignation of the court; the rumors of the coming war with Holland circulated among the French soldiers in the shape of popular songs, one of which may be translated as a specimen:—

"To arms! ye brave soldiers of France!
Our monarch has given command
That to Holland at once we advance,
And conquer the whole of the land.
Then take to your prayers, ye vile merchants of cheese,
We're coming your goods and your chattels to seize.

"Say your prayers, ye vile tipplers of beer,
And take a farewell of French wine;
Heavy ale fills its drinkers with fear,
But the grape gives us courage divine.
Then comrades, come see—comrades, come see,
How puzzled those beer-muddled Dutchmen will be."†

It was important to Louis to obtain, not merely the neutrality, but the active support and co-operation of England. Charles II., though avowedly a member of the Established Church, and honored by its obsequious prelates with the title of "most religious

* Some amusing examples of this war of medals may be seen in Billot's *Histoire Métallique de la République de Hollande.* The Dutch began the boasting; before Louis XIV. had issued any one of his vain-glorious devices, they circulated a medal, having for its device the Belgium Lion pointing a cannon, with the motto, "*Sic fines nostros leges tutamur et undas.*"

† *Chansons Militaires de France,* quoted by Capefigue from a collection apparently made about the beginning of the last century.

and gracious king," was in secret attached to his mother's creed,* and shared all the political and religious sentiments of the court of Louis XIV. He had, besides, some personal grounds of quarrel with the States of Holland; for the English puritans, who had never become thoroughly reconciled to the Stuarts, kept up their old relations with the partisans of John de Witt, and the austere Calvinists of France and Holland. All the fugitive nonconformists from England found refuge at Amsterdam or the Hague, where they wrote virulent satires against a prince, whom they described as "the tyrant of their country, and a monster of profligate debauchery." The alliance of Louis and Charles was thus in some sort an assertion of the monarchical principle, against the republican and Calvinistic principles of the Dutch school;† it was the development of the restoration of royalty and Catholicism. Presbyterian and republican ‡ Holland must first be effaced from the map of Europe, before Charles could establish arbitrary power, and encourage ascendency in England.

Such was the common interest of the two crowns, though not of the two countries; but the English Parliament viewed with great jealousy and distrust, the intimacy of the relations between Charles and Louis. The popular leaders in the House of Commons knew that the proposed war with Holland would be directed, not so much against the Dutch, as against the prerogatives and safeguards of the British constitution. By their efforts, the French alliance was rendered so unpopular with the nation, that Charles, who had the dread of his father's fate ever present to his mind, hesitated between the desire of gratifying his passions and the fear of provoking his people.

But Louis was anxious to bring Charles to a decision: and knowing that the Duchess of Orleans had some influence with her brother, he intrusted to her the management of this delicate negotiation. Henrietta was empowered to tempt her brother with a new mistress, and the promise of a large pension. She had been too long familiar with the intrigues of the French court to refuse such a mission; but Monsieur was most indignant when

* Barillon's Despatches contain abundant proof that Charles was, through life, a Roman Catholic, and was only deterred from making an open profession of his faith by the fear of being hurled from his throne.

† Capefigue's *Louis XIV., Son Gouvernement, et ses Relations Diplomatiques*, chap. x.

‡ Presbyterianism was denounced by the high-church writers of the seventeenth century, chiefly on account of its being supposed to have a natural and necessary tendency to republicanism.

he found that all the arrangements for Madame's visit to England had been completed before he had been informed that such a measure was even in contemplation. He was, nevertheless, obliged to accompany her to the coast, and to take part in one of the most pompous displays which had yet marked the royal progresses of Louis XIV. The journey was undertaken for the purpose of visiting the recent acquisitions on the frontier: thirty thousand men accompanied the royal party; some of them destined to reinforce the garrisons, others to repair the fortifications and the roads.* But the journey was not happy; Madame had to endure much from the ill-temper and reproaches of her husband; † La Vallière had to suffer more from being compelled to endure the presence of her treacherous rival in the king's favor, Madame de Montespan; ‡ and the queen was most indignant at being forced occasionally to receive the two royal mistresses as companions in her carriage.§

Among the ladies selected to accompany Madame, was Yolonde

* Capefigue *ut antè;* Voltaire's *Louis XIV. et Son Siècle.*

† Mémoires de Madame la Fayette.

‡ Mémoires de Madame la Vallière.—Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans says: "It was at the instigation of Montespan that the king treated Madame la Vallière harshly. She felt his unkindness keenly, but the poor creature imagined that she could not make a greater sacrifice to God than that of the origin of her faults, and she believed that it would be more acceptable to God if her penance sprang from the same place as her sin. Thus, as an act of penance, she remained with Madame de Montespan, who surpassed her alike in wit and malice, mocked her in public, and induced the king to do the same. It was necessary to pass through La Vallière's apartments to reach the chamber of Montespan. The king had a handsome spaniel named *Malice;* at the instigation of Montespan, he threw it one day to La Vallière, saying, 'Here, madam, is company for you, and quite enough.' A little after she took the veil, I visited her, and was curious to know how she could have remained so long with Montespan in a subordinate station. She told me that God had touched her heart, that He had made her conscious of her sin, and that she had thought it right to endure penance, and consequently suffer whatever was most painful to be borne, which was—to share her heart with the king, and yet be despised by him; that, during the three years the king had ceased to love her, she had suffered the tortures of the damned, but she had offered her griefs to God as a satisfaction for the sins that she had committed; for, since her sin had been public, her penance ought to be so likewise: that she was not ignorant of her being taken for a fool, who suspected nothing, but that she had really suffered intensely until God inspired her with the resolution to abandon the world, and dedicate herself to His service."

§ The queen is said to have been so hurt by this indignity, that she seriously thought of leaving France, and taking refuge at the court of her brother.

de Keroualle,* a Breton lady of exquisite beauty, who had also received secret instructions for her share in the negotiations, and the promise of an ample reward in case of success.

The landing of Henrietta of Orleans at Dover produced great excitement in England. Her brothers, the king, and the Duke of York, accompanied by Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, and a crowd of other courtiers, hastened to receive her on her landing, and, during a fortnight, Dover was the constant scene of brilliant festivities. Here, it is said, Henrietta fixed her affections on the handsome Duke of Monmouth :† it is certain that she did not evince any unwillingness to receive his attentions, and that she exhibited a gallantry and coquetry of manner, which, however fashionable in France, had not yet been naturalized in England; but there is every probability that there was no ground for any imputation on her character.‡

Henrietta exerted all her arts to entrap her brother Charles in the snares of Mademoiselle de Keroualle, and succeeded perfectly in establishing that lady as mistress of his heart. It was through the influence of this lady, rather than of Henrietta, that Charles was induced to become a pensioner of France, and to conclude a treaty perilous to the interests, if not to the liberties, of England. So convinced was Louis XIV. of the importance of the services she had rendered him, that, after she had been created Duchess of Portsmouth by her royal lover, he presented her with a title and estate in France.

Colbert, the French ambassador, dwells strongly on the sincerity of the affection of Charles for his brilliant and beautiful sister. In his letters to his court, he says: "Her influence over the king was remarked by all : he wept when he parted with her, and whatever favor she asked of him was granted." Their tenderness at separation was marked by all; but neither could then have suspected that their parting was to be for ever.

On her return to France, Henrietta was received at Calais with all the honor due to a successful negotiator. Louis XIV. evinced more than his ordinary affection and respect; so that Monsieur,

* Subsequently Duchess of Portsmouth. Her son by Charles II. was the founder of the ducal family of Richmond.

† Neresby; but he seems to have had no better authority than vague or villainous suspicion.

‡ Elizabeth of Bavaria, Monsieur's second wife, and one, therefore, not likely to be prejudiced in favor of his first duchess, speaks of the story of her intrigue with Monmouth as an utter absurdity in one passage, though she seems to credit it in another.

seeing the influence she had gained over the royal mind, implored her to exert it in obtaining the recall of the Chevalier de Lorraine. Henrietta not only refused, in the most peremptory terms, but reproached her husband for the strength and continuance of his attachment to so unworthy a favorite. Words ran high between them, and, had not both been checked by respect for the king, the matrimonial quarrel would have acquired a scandalous publicity.*

After the return of the royal family to Paris, Madame established her court at St. Cloud, where she gave a series of brilliant receptions and entertainments. She so far yielded to her husband as to allow him to bring ladies to her parties who would not be admitted elsewhere.† Complaisance to his vices was a far more sure means of winning Monsieur than any display of virtue or affection: delighted at the license granted to his amours, and ever taking a childish pleasure in bustle and movement, there seemed a prospect that in the end he might become reconciled to Madame, and that the Chevalier de Lorraine would be forgotten. The friends of the exile were alarmed at this prospect;‡ they resolved on the removal of Henrietta, as the greatest obstacle to the Chevalier's return, and organized a catastrophe which filled France with dread, and all Europe with horror.

On the 29th of June, 1670, Henrietta rose rather earlier than usual, and visited her daughter, Maria Louisa of Orleans, a beautiful child, about eight years of age, whose portrait she was anxious to send to her brother in England. She next went to the apartments of her husband, and then to those of Madame de la Fayette, with whom she remained for a considerable time chatting with the greatest animation, and apparently in excellent health and spirits. She dined as usual, and then went to Monsieur's apartments, who

* This last quarrel between Henrietta and her husband has been attributed by many English writers to his indignation at the report of her levities and irregularities while at her brother's court. But the second Duchess of Orleans and the Duc de St. Simon both declare, that it was solely occasioned by the inveteracy of her hatred to his favorite, the Chevalier de Lorraine. The only part of her conduct in England to which he seems to have objected, was her having effected a reconciliation between Charles II. and the Duke of Buckingham. Jealousy had no share in his anger, for it was perfectly notorious that Henrietta had received Buckingham with a coldness and reserve by which he had been deeply mortified.

† St. Simon, vol. v.

‡ Most of the writers of memoirs of the time, however, are of opinion that this reconciliation would not have been permanent, as the tempers and dispositions of the parties were quite incompatible.

was sitting for his portrait, and made some observations on the progress of the picture. About seven in the evening she asked for a glass of succory-water, and having drank it, lay down upon the cushions in the apartment, as she was in the habit of doing, and fell asleep.

After some time, Madame de la Fayette, who watched by her side, observed a convulsive spasm, after which the face of the sleeper assumed so livid and ghastly an expression, that La Fayette was about to call attention to it, when Henrietta awoke with a piercing scream, and writhed in such agony that Monsieur became alarmed, and immediately sent for medical assistance. The physician was inclined to treat the indisposition as a mere case of ordinary indigestion. But the princess insisted that she had been poisoned, and called for a confessor. Monsieur knelt beside her bed in uncertainty and amazement; in spite of her sufferings, she threw her arms about his neck, and declared, with passionate protestations, that she had never wronged him. One of the ladies in waiting, whose duty it was to prepare the succory-water, filled a glass of it, which she drank without feeling any ill effect. The poison clearly had been poured, not into the jug, but into Madame's cup.

This cup was kept in a closet in one of the ante-chambers: beside it stood a china jug of succory-water, and one of pure water, to be used if the former should be found too bitter. The Marquis d'Effiat, first esquire to Monsieur, and entirely dependent for his situation on the favor of the Chevalier de Lorraine, was well acquainted with all these arrangements. He watched an opportunity, when the ante-chamber was unoccupied, to open the closet and throw into the cup some potent poison, which the chevalier had sent from Rome by a trusty messenger: before he could shut the closet, he was interrupted by the sudden entrance of one of the footmen, who inquired what he was doing there? D'Effiat, pointing to the water-jug, replied, that he had felt very thirsty, and knowing that water was kept in the closet, he had come to get a drink. The valet grumbled, declaring that those vessels were reserved for the use of Madame. D'Effiat went off, apparently indignant. An hour afterwards, the agitation of the household proved that his machinations had succeeded.*

* St. Simon, vol. v.—Madame la (seconde) Duchesse d'Orleans, says: "It was not the succory-water which D'Effiat poisoned; that would have been a perilous plan; for others might have tasted the water, while Madame alone used her cup. A valet who had been with Madame, and was afterwards in my service, told me that, in the morning, while Monsieur and

The obstinacy with which the physician* denied that there was any danger caused some delay, during which Madame's agony so obviously increased that it was deemed advisable to seek the aid of two other physicians, one from Paris and one from Versailles. Information of the dangerous nature of the illness was sent to the king, to the parish priest of St. Cloud, and to the English ambassador, all of whom hastened to the bedside of the sufferer.

Louis arrived, accompanied by the queen and the Countess of Soissons. La Vallière followed, and has left in her Memoirs a fearful description of the agonies which Madame endured. She made the most piteous appeals to her attendants, begging them to apply some remedies that might alleviate the intensity of her sufferings; but they were all so overwhelmed with grief and confusion, that they could only answer her by their tears. At length, the physicians announced that mortification had commenced, and that it was time to administer the sacrament.

Montagu, the English ambassador, arrived at St. Cloud about the same time as the confessor. She exerted herself to hold a conversation with him in English, for her attendants had little knowledge of that language. She desired that her last fond farewell should be conveyed to her brother Charles. "Tell him," she said, "that I have ever loved him above all things in the world, and that I should not regret to leave it but that I leave

Madame were at mass, D'Effiat went to the closet, and, having taken out the cup, rubbed the inside of it with a paper. "Sir," said the servant, "what are you doing at our closet, and why do you touch Madame's cup?" He replied, "I am parched with thirst, and came to take a drink; seeing the cup dusty, I have cleaned it." After the poison had been taken, the cup could not be found: it was not recovered for several days, and it was necessary to have it purified with fire before it could again be used."

The only discrepancy between Madame and St. Simon is, that she says the events took place in the morning, and he in the evening. Madame de la Fayette confirms St. Simon's narrative.

In another part of her Memoirs, the duchess says: "The poison was sent from Italy by a Provençal gentleman named Maurel: this man, whom they afterwards placed in my service as my first *maitre d'hôtel*, robbed me to an immense extent before he was compelled to sell his post, which he did at a high price. This Maurel had the wit of the devil, but he was a man without faith or law; he confessed to me himself that he believed in nothing. At the moment of his death, he would listen to no mention of God: speaking of himself, he said, 'Let this carcase alone; it will soon be good for nothing.' He was addicted to thieving, lying, and swearing; he was an atheist and a profligate."

* It is obscurely hinted by some late historians that the physician may have been in league with the poisoners; but there is no ground for such a suspicion in any of the cotemporary writers.

him." She desired that whatever money she possessed might be distributed among her servants,* whom she named and recommended to the protection of her brother. She declared that she had always been faithful to her husband, and complained, though gently, of his suspicions, jealousy, and temper.

Montagu inquired if she believed that she had been poisoned, but the confessor caught the word, and told her that she must not accuse any one. The ambassador, however, pressed the question, but she shrugged her shoulders and made no reply. The solemn rites of the church were then administered. The celebrated Bossuet, to whom Henrietta was much attached, arrived before they were concluded—an event which seemed to afford much comfort to the dying princess. She listened to his pious and eloquent address with great attention until overcome by a stupor which he mistook for sleep. He was about to retire, but she motioned him to kneel by the bedside and aid in holding the crucifix to her lips. Bossuet obeyed. While he was engaged in earnest prayer, there was a convulsive sob, the crucifix escaped from the relaxed fingers, and Henrietta of Orleans was no more!

* This request was not fulfilled: on the very day of her death, her husband took possession of her jewels, money, and papers. The latter afforded little gratification to his curiosity, for they were in cipher, and he never discovered the key.

CHAPTER IV.

INQUIRIES AS TO THE CAUSE OF THE DEATH OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.—ACCOUNT OF THAT EVENT BY THE SECOND DUCHESS, AND BY ST. SIMON.—EXAMINATION OF PURNON BY LOUIS XIV.—THE SPIRIT AT THE FOUNTAIN.—THE PRINCESS MARIA LOUISA OF ORLEANS.—HER EDUCATION.—HER SUPPOSED LOVE FOR THE DAUPHIN.—HER MARRIAGE CONTEMPLATED.—ARRIVAL OF THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR.—REPUGNANCE OF MARIA LOUISA TO HER PROJECTED MARRIAGE.—CHARLES II. OF SPAIN.—FESTIVITIES IN ANTICIPATION OF HIS MARRIAGE.—THE DUCHESS DE FONTANGES.—HER DREAM.—ITS WARNING AND REALIZATION.—BETROTHAL OF MARIA LOUISA.—DESCRIPTION OF THE CEREMONY.—THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE YOUNG QUEEN OF SPAIN.—THE DUCHESS DE TERRA NOVA.—DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.—DEPARTURE OF MARIA LOUISA FROM FRANCE.

MADAME, as we have stated, died on the morning of the 30th of June. The belief that she had been poisoned was universal at the time. A post-mortem examination was instituted, but no authentic record of the result has been preserved. Her brother, the Duke of York (afterwards James II.), declared that no appearances were discovered which could justify a suspicion of foul play; while Burnet avers that indubitable evidences of poison were found in the stomach. Sir Thomas Armstrong, who brought the account from Paris to London, convinced Charles II. that his beloved sister had been treated unfairly; and Sir William Temple, who was sent to Paris to make inquiries into the truth of the report, told Lord Dartmouth that "he found more in it than was fit to be known."

Let us now turn to the French accounts of this unfortunate event. Madame de la Fayette speaks on the subject with marked caution and reserve. Madame, the second Duchess of Orleans, who had the best opportunity of knowing the truth, gives the following narrative as the result of her own inquiries: "It is but too true that the late Madame was poisoned, but it was entirely without Monsieur's knowledge. While the assassins were forming their plans for the destruction of poor Madame, they deliberated

whether they would admit Monsieur into the secret or not.* The Chevalier de Lorraine† said, 'No; tell him nothing about it—he could not keep a secret; if he held his tongue the first year, he would have us all hanged ten years after.' It is well known that other assassins said, 'Beware of telling Monsieur; he would betray us to the king, who would have us all hanged.' They persuaded my late husband that the Dutch had given Madame a slow poison, which did not take effect until after her return to St. Cloud."

More minute, but probably not less authentic, details are given by St. Simon. "Madame's death filled the king with sorrow. It is probable that some suspicious indications came to his knowledge during the day; and that the valet (who had discovered D'Effiat meddling with Madame's cup) did not hold his tongue; and that he had some suspicion that Purnon, first *maître d'hôtel* to Madame, was in the secret, on account of his great intimacy with D'Effiat, in spite of the disparity of their conditions. The king went to bed; but, being unable to sleep, he rose again; sent for Brissac, the captain of his guards, with great secrecy; commanded him to take six confidential men to seize Purnon, and bring him immediately to the royal chamber by a private staircase. This was accomplished before morning. When the king saw him, he commanded Brissac and his first *valet de chambre* to

* This is a remarkable admission: it almost intimates the writer's opinion that Monsieur, if invited, would have joined in the plot; at least, that he would not have taken measures to frustrate it.

† Madame elsewhere gives the following particulars of this unworthy favorite: "The chevalier had an unprepossessing countenance, but this was the result of debauchery; in early life he was handsome. He was well made. If his heart had corresponded with his exterior, I should never have complained of him; but he was a wicked scoundrel, and his friends were no better. Three or four years before my husband's death, to gratify him, I was reconciled to the chevalier, who did me no further mischief. He had always such fear of being turned off, that he induced my husband to keep a watch on everything I said and did, to guard against any plot which might be formed against the chevalier or his creatures. The chevalier died so poor that his friends had to bury him; he had, nevertheless, an annual income of one hundred thousand crowns, but he was a bad manager. His servants always robbed him. Provided they gave him, whenever he asked, a supply of pistoles for gambling and debauchery, he allowed them to dispose of his property as they pleased. La Grancey extorted large sums from him. His death was shocking. He was standing one evening by Madame de Maré, Grancey's sister, and was telling her how he had spent the preceding night in debauchery—he narrated the most abominable depravity; suddenly he was struck with apoplexy, lost his speech, and in a few moments expired."

retire, then assuming a countenance and tone likely to produce the greatest terror, he said, looking at the trembling Purnon from head to foot, 'My friend, listen to me attentively. If you confess everything, and answer me the truth concerning what I want to know from you, I will grant you a pardon for whatever you may have done, and it shall never more be mentioned; but take care not to hide the least thing from me, for if you do, you are a dead man before you leave the room. Was Madame poisoned?'

"'Yes, sire,' he faltered out.

"'Who poisoned her, and how was the crime effected?' demanded the king.

"He replied that the poison was sent by the Chevalier of Lorraine to Purnon and D'Effiat, and he then narrated the circumstances as detailed in the preceding chapter. Then the king, reiterating assurances of pardon and menaces of death, asked, 'Did my brother know of the crime?'

"'No, sire; none of us three would be such a fool as to tell him; he is unable to keep a secret, and would have ruined us all.'

"On receiving this reply the king drew a deep breath, like one who had been much oppressed, and had just recovered his powers of respiration. 'That is all,' he said, 'which I wished to know; but can you assure me of its truth?'

"Purnon renewed his protestations. The king then called Brissac, and ordered him to remove the man to some distant part of the palace."*

From the same authority we learn that, a few days after the second marriage of Monsieur, the king called Madame† aside, and related these facts to her; adding, that he wished to strengthen her confidence in Monsieur and himself, and that he was too honorable a man to have allowed her to marry his brother, had he been capable of such a crime. Madame profited by the intelligence. Purnon had remained her first *maître d'hôtel*. Madame, after some time, demanded to see his accounts of the expenses of the household, and she detected such monstrous charges, that he

* It was the man himself (says St. Simon) who many years afterwards related the story to M. Joly de Fleury, procurator-general to the Parliament, from whom I had the anecdote.—*Memoirs*, vol. v.

† Charlotte-Elizabeth of Bavaria, the second Duchess of Orleans, from whose amusing Memoirs and Correspondence we have quoted largely in this volume. She does not mention the circumstance recorded by St. Simon, but it is not inconsistent with the other anecdotes she has chronicled.

was compelled to sell his office to Maurel, who was a villain of a still deeper dye.*

For many years after the death of Henrietta, a report was current at St. Cloud, that her spirit was accustomed to appear nightly at a fountain by which she used to sit in the very hot weather, as the place was cool and shaded. One day, a servant of Marshal Clairembault having gone to draw water at the fountain, saw a white figure, but could not perceive the countenance. The phantom, which was seated, raised itself to double its former height, and the poor servant fled away quite terrified. When he entered the palace, he assured everybody that he had seen Madame's ghost. The fright had such an effect upon him, that he fell sick and died. The captain who was then in charge of the château, imagining that there was some mystery in the matter, went some days after to the fountain, and seeing the phantom walking around it, threatened the unknown with a hundred stripes of the cane if instant confession were not made. The phantom exclaimed "Ah! M. de Lastera, do not hurt me; I am Philipinette." It was an old woman of the village, about seventy years of age, with bloodshot eyes, a huge mouth, an enormous nose, and, altogether, the most hideous figure imaginable. They wished to take her to prison, but the second Duchess of Orleans obtained her pardon, and granted her an interview, which is thus graphically described by the duchess herself:—

"When she called to thank me, I asked, 'What madness possessed you to play the ghost at night, instead of going to bed?' She answered with a horrid laugh: 'I do not regret what I have done; people do not sleep much at my age; and they want some little matter to rouse their spirits. All the fun I had in my youth did not give me so much pleasure as acting the ghost. I was sure that those who were not frightened by the white sheet, would be frightened enough by my face. The terrified poltroons used to make such grimaces, that I was often nearly dying with laughter; and this nightly sport was my consolation for being forced to carry a basket on my back during the whole day.'"†

Maria Louisa of Orleans, the eldest daughter of Monsieur and Henrietta, was born March 27, 1666. Immersed in the pleasures of the court, neither father nor mother paid much attention to the infant princess. She was intrusted to the care of Madame Cantin-

* See note, page 66.

† Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans.

Vremont,* who was first her nurse and afterwards her governess. Monsieur and Madame visited the young princess every morning; but it is recorded that Henrietta never embraced her child, and that it was on her hand she received the ardent kisses of the affectionate Maria Louisa.† At a very early age, the beauty of Maria Louisa began to attract the notice of the court. Henrietta was so proud of her that she wished to have her portrait taken and sent to Charles II.: the painter was in fact engaged on the picture when Madame was poisoned.‡ As she grew up, Madame de Saint Chaumont was intrusted with the care of her education. A very warm attachment was soon formed between the governess and pupil; but the princess regarded her mother rather as an idol to be worshipped, than as a parent to be loved. She was only eight years old when her mother died, but she was much affected by the suddenness of the shock: it was necessary to summon a physician, but the child refused to touch any potion, exclaiming that she *also* was about to be poisoned.§ Monsieur, however, who never omitted any point of etiquette, insisted that the child, and her cousin of about the same age, daughter of the Duke of York, should appear in full dress-mourning with long sable cloaks and weepers, to receive the condolences of the entire court. In fact, the pride he took in the funeral ceremonial quite overbalanced the slight sorrow he felt for the loss of the beautiful Henrietta.

After her mother's death, no one seems to have noticed Mademoiselle d'Orleans, except the neglected queen of Louis XIV., Maria Theresa,‖ who invited her to Saint Germains, and treated

* Madame Cantin was married to a gentleman named Vremont, a captain of grenadiers in the French army; he was exiled from France for having fought a duel at the siege of Limbourg in 1678.—*Mémoires de Dangeau.*

† Mémoires de Madame la Fayette.

‡ This picture is in the collection of Historical Portraits at Versailles; it represents a child of soft and regular features, with rather a pensive cast of countenance. Madame Cantin used to describe Maria Louisa as very sensitive, and subject from her infancy to inexplicable fits of melancholy reverie.

§ Mémoires de M. de Montpensier.

‖ The Duchess of Orleans thus describes Maria Theresa: "Our queen was one of the most ignorant ladies in the world, but one of the best and most virtuous of women: she had great dignity, and presided with grace over her court. She believed everything the king told her, good and bad. She had horrible teeth, black and jagged. People said that this was caused by her drinking so much chocolate: she used also to eat great quantities of garlic. She was large in person, but low in stature, and had a beautiful

her as one of her own children. The silence of Madame de la Fayette* respecting a princess to whose mother she had been so fondly attached, and the total omission of all allusion to Madame's children in Bossuet's celebrated funeral oration on the death of Henrietta, are evidences of the little interest that was felt in the fortunes of princesses, destined from their cradle to marry foreign princes, and whose influence for that reason could not be of any value to courtiers, and was not likely to repay any attentions bestowed on their childhood.

Soon after Henrietta's death, Monsieur dismissed Madame de Saint Chaumont, the governess to whom his daughter was so fondly attached, and replaced her by Madame la Maréchale de Clerembault, whose austere manners and stern voice were most disagreeable to the youthful princess. The new governess was the daughter of Chavigny, who had been secretary of state, and the sister of the Bishop of Troyes. In her youth she had been threatened with a disease of the lungs, and, in obedience to the advice of the physicians, had the resolution to remain perfectly silent for an entire year. Her natural apathy strengthened the habit thus formed; she often had long fits of silence; in conversation her tone was at once sarcastic and sententious. In all the relations of life, as a daughter, a sister, and a mother, she had shown herself almost entirely destitute of natural affection, and without ordinary feeling;† it is therefore not wonderful that Maria Louisa was much mortified by such a change. The second marriage of Monsieur to Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria, Princess Palatine, was an advantage to the young princess. The new Duchess of Orleans was ugly, caustic, clever, and eccentric; but she was good-hearted, and one of her earliest acts was to insist

white skin. She looked taller than she really was, when neither walking nor dancing. She used to eat often and for a long time, but only such little morsels as one might offer to a Canary-bird. It would have been impossible to her to deny her country, since she had all the manners of a Spaniard. She was passionately fond of gaming; she played basset, reversi, ombre, and sometimes petty pumo, but she was so wretched a player that she never won. She had such an affection for the king that she used to endeavor to read in his eyes what would please him: if he only looked at her with friendship, she was happy all the day."—*Mémoires de M. la Duchesse d'Orléans.*

* After Henrietta's death, Madame de la Fayette became very intimate with M. de Rochefoucault. The romance of the "Princess of Cleves" is said to have been their joint production.

† Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. vi.

that the pension presented to her by Louis XIV. should be divided between her and her step-daughter.*

Brought up by the queen, and constantly in the company of the dauphin, it is not surprising that Maria Louisa began early to encourage some hope of ascending the throne of France.† It is doubtful whether she felt any real passion, save that of ambition, for her cousin, and it is still more dubious whether her affection, if she had any, was reciprocated. It was, however, generally believed that the cousins would be united, and the favor with which Louis began to treat the daughter of Henrietta after she had taken her place at court, gave some color to the expectation. But the peace of Nimeguen altered the monarch's views: he became anxious to ally himself closely with Spain, and he sent the Marquis de Villars secretly to Madrid to offer the hand of his niece to the Spanish monarch. The Marquis of Los Balbazés was charged to reply to the proposal, and he came to Paris to report on the qualifications of the princess, who was utterly ignorant of the fate to which she was destined.

The reception of the Spanish ambassador was the most brilliant that had ever been accorded to any foreign envoy.‡ His marked attentions to Monsieur first indicated the secret purport of his

* Gazette of 1671.

† Some writers have thrown a cloud of romance around the childish loves of Maria Louisa and the dauphin, comparing them to Cupid and Psyche. The dauphin's character is quite conclusive against the romance of the story. It is thus delineated by the second Duchess of Orleans: "All the good the first dauphin had came from his preceptor (Bossuet), his evil qualities came from himself. He never thoroughly loved or hated anybody; still he was wicked. His greatest pleasure was to vex somebody; but if he could afterwards grant a favor to the same person, he did so with a good grace. His humor was most inconceivable: when people thought him pleased, he was vexed; when he was supposed to be out of temper, he was gracious. No one could ever divine him; no one ever understood him. I do not believe that his parallel ever existed, or that the like of him will ever be born. He could not be said to have wit, and yet he was no fool. He told anecdotes pleasantly, remarked on everything, and feared nothing in the world so much as becoming king—less through love of his father, than dislike of the trouble of reigning, for his indolence was extreme. He used to remain whole days on a sofa, or in an arm-chair, tapping his shoes with his cane, and not uttering a syllable. He never in his life wished to give an opinion about anything; but when he spoke, which was about once a year, he expressed himself in noble terms." This is certainly not the character of an amorous swain, sensible from early infancy to the charms of beauty.

‡ It is described at tedious length in the Gazette of the 11th of June, 1679.

mission. Louis XIV., however, gave no hint of his purpose until all his arrangements were completed, and he then announced it to his brother as a matter concluded and settled. Monsieur, who never durst resist any wish of the imperious monarch, stated the affair to his wife and daughter in the words it had been conveyed to him by Louis. Maria Louisa was in despair; she fainted, and was carried to bed. Physicians were summoned; and the queen, who loved her tenderly, spent the greater part of the night by her bedside.* Bossuet was at last summoned, to preach the princess into submission to the royal mandate. He succeeded; and, on the 2d of July, Maria Louisa, in the presence of Monsieur and Madame, publicly received from the Marquis de Los Balbazés the letter he had brought to her from the King of Spain; and in return she presented her hand to the ambassador to kiss.† Orders were immediately given to prepare the contract of marriage, and Maria Louisa found herself involved in a multitude of festivities and formalities, which allowed her but little time for regret or reflection. Once only a reproach escaped her. When the king, after dwelling on the magnificence of the Spanish monarchy, added, "I could not have done better for my daughter." "Ah, sire," said the princess, "you might have done much better for your niece."‡

The King of Spain, Charles II., evinced great delight when he received the account of his acceptance by Mademoiselle, and of the consent of the king and Monsieur to the marriage. He ordered his ambassador to present to the princess an account of the festivities which had been celebrated at Madrid so soon as the intelligence arrived. The *Te Deum* had been sung in the Church of Notre Dame d'Astocha. All the houses in Madrid had been illuminated, and bonfires kindled in most of the streets. One hundred and fifty cavaliers, of the noblest houses in Spain, had performed a masquerade on horseback by night, each with a flambeau in his hand. These diversions had lasted for three entire days and nights. On the other hand, Maria Louisa was mortified at finding that the dauphin manifested no regret for her loss,§

* Gazette of June 18th, 1679.

† Gazette of July, 1679. This was the only reply sanctioned by the rigid etiquette of the court.

‡ Gazette of 1679.

§ This was not the only occasion on which he showed his utter want of feeling: "He did not mourn a quarter of an hour for the death of his wife, or that of his mother. When he put on his long mourning cloak, and

and that he seemed ready to console himself with an aged mistress.* He even absented himself from the reading of the marriage-contract, pleading that he must review the household troops, which had been assembled in camp at Passy,† under the command of the Duc de Noailles.

This contract betrayed the secret purpose of Louis XIV.: it was generally known that the King of Spain was so debilitated as to be incapable of having children, and Louis sacrificed the happiness of his niece to the hope of securing the Spanish succession for a prince of his own family.

Whatever were the feelings of Maria Louisa, they produced little effect on her father, whose whole soul was absorbed by the preparations for the grand ceremonial which was about to take place. The fear of forgetting the most insignificant point of the homage due to his daughter on this occasion, caused him many sleepless nights; and his agitation and disquiet provoked the laughter of the entire court. Thanks to his solicitude, the history of the ceremonies of the marriage fills a very substantial folio.‡ From the time the contract was signed, Louis commanded that his niece should be treated as a queen, and he named the daughter of Marshal de Grancey her mistress of the robes.§

It was resolved that the marriage ceremony should be celebrated at Fontainebleau, and the king hastened the departure of the court from Paris—not so much to gratify the impatience of the Spanish monarch, as to obtain an opportunity of securing the favors of a new mistress. The brilliant but brief career of the Duchess de Fontanges‖ is too remarkable, and has been too often misrepresented, to be passed over without notice, especially as destiny was supposed to have associated her fate with that of Maria Louisa.

Mademoiselle de Fontanges was the daughter of an ancient but decayed family in Provence. Her extreme beauty led her parents to hope that she might make her fortune at court, and they ob-

surveyed his figure in it, he was nearly stifled with laughter."—*Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse*, &c.

* "He took an old mistress (Mademoiselle de Chouin), and was said to have married her privately."—*Ibid.*

† Gazette of 1679.

‡ Relations des cérémonies du mariage du Roi d'Espagne avec Mademoiselle.

§ Louisa Elizabeth Jouxel de Grancey, *dame d'atours* to the Queen of Spain.

‖ Her name was Mary Angelica d'Escorailles de Roussille.

tained for her the patronage of the Duchess of Arpagon, by whom she was presented to the second Duchess of Orleans, shortly after her marriage with Monsieur. At court, she was called "the marble idol;" for though her figure was beautiful, and her features exquisitely formed, her countenance was never animated by a ray of intellect or feeling. Inconsistent accounts are given of the circumstances that brought her under the notice of the king. We take, first, the narrative of Madame, who may be regarded as the best authority for everything connected with the scandal of the court, and the gossip of her household:—

"I had a maid of honor," says Madame, "named Beauvais; she was a very honorable person; the king fell in love with her, but she resisted him firmly. He then turned to La Fontanges, who was also charming, but quite destitute of wit.* At first, he had said of her, '*There is a wolf who will never eat me.*' But, nevertheless, he afterwards fell deeply in love with her. Before she came to reside with me, she had seen in a dream all that had subsequently happened to her; and a pious Capuchin interpreted her dream. She told me the story herself, long before she became mistress to the king. She dreamt that she had ascended a very high mountain, and that, on reaching the summit, she had been quite dazzled by radiant vapors; that suddenly she found herself in the midst of intense darkness, at which she was so terrified that she awoke. When she related this dream to her confessor, he said, 'Take warning from this premonition. This mountain is the court, where you will attain great splendor, but it will be of short duration; if you will abandon God, he will abandon you, and you will fall into eternal darkness.'"†

From other authorities we learn that the notice of Louis was

* Drew du Radier and La Fontaine have both protested strongly against the imputation of folly which has been attributed to De Fontanges. La Fontaine describes her in some complimentary verses, in which he dwells more strongly on the charms of her mind than on the beauties of her person:—

ON MADEMOISELLE DE FONTANGES.

"All the celestial powers combined
To deck her form and store her mind.
Each brilliant star, each goddess fair,
Made her the object of their care:
Minerva skill and wit bestowed;
Juno's proud port each footstep showed;
Venus gave loveliness of face;
Flora, her tint; her grace, each Grace."

† Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse, &c.

directed to La Fontanges by Madame de Montespan, who, by the aid of this new beauty, hoped to counteract the influence which Madame de Maintenon was beginning to acquire over her royal lover. Never were the calculations of vice more signally disappointed. Mademoiselle de Fontanges, whom the infatuated Louis created a duchess, was intoxicated by pride on her sudden elevation; she was never so happy as when she could parade her influence over the enslaved monarch in the presence of the entire court.* She quarreled with Madame de Montespan, whom she more than once openly insulted; so that Louis had to apply to Madame de Maintenon to act as umpire between the imperious rivals†—a task ungraciously performed, and very warmly resented by both ladies—and she even passed the queen herself without the usual reverence of a courtesy. Louis would probably have been worn out by her caprices, exactions, and pretensions, had not her premature death, the consequence of her first confinement,‡ put an end to scandals, of which even the most abandoned of the courtiers were becoming weary. But to return to Maria Louisa and the King of Spain.

Soon after the arrival of the court at Fontainebleau, the ceremony of betrothal was performed, and, like every circumstance connected with this ill-omened marriage, brought with it mortification and suffering to the unhappy Maria Louisa. She was led to the altar by the dauphin, who she had so long expected was to be her husband. Monsieur chose as master of the ceremonies his worthless favorite, the Chevalier de Lorraine, and thus the Spanish ambassador was presented to the princess by the person whom public fame accused of having contrived the murder of her mother; and, finally, the letter from her future husband was presented to her by the very D'Effiat who had mingled the fatal potion to which Madame had fallen a victim.§ Monsieur had insisted on these marks of deference to his two favorites, with the

* Madame de Sevigné thus contrasts La Fontanges with the amiable but unfortunate La Vallière: "You must imagine her precisely the reverse of the little violet, which hid itself among the herbage, and which blushed alike to be a mistress, a mother, and a duchess."—*Lettres, &c.*, vol. v.

† Mémoires de Madame de Maintenon.

‡ Madame gives a different account. She says: "It is certain that La Fontanges died of poison; she herself accused Madame de Montespan of her death. A servant of the rival mistress poisoned her and some of her servants in milk; two of them died, and it was publicly said that they were poisoned. La Fontanges was decidedly red-headed, but beautiful as an angel from head to foot."—*Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse, &c.*

§ Gazette of 1679.

hope of destroying the imputations so freely urged against them; but their crime was notorious to all except the wilfully blind; and there was not a courtier at Fontainebleau, who did not pity Maria Louisa on being compelled to receive the vows of her betrothed from the hands of her mother's assassins.

The coldness the dauphin displayed, at resigning his beautiful cousin for ever, excited much attention, and probably had some influence in reconciling Maria Louisa to her lot. She remained quite passive while the preparations for the splendid ceremonial of her marriage were in progress. They occupied more than a month, for both the king and Monsieur had resolved to display unusual splendor on the occasion. It took place in August, 1679; and we may best describe the brilliant spectacle, by quoting from the official account, published under the king's personal superintendence, in the *Gazette of France:*—

"The knights of the order of the Holy Ghost, preceded by four heralds of arms, their own herald, and the President de Mesmes, grand master of the ceremonies of the order, walked first, two by two, dressed in black, with the collar over their cloaks.

"The Duke de Crussol, who bore the honors* for the King of Spain, walked after the knights of the order. His coat was embroidered with pearls, and his button-holes were worked in diamonds. The Grand Prior of France, and his brother, the Duke de Vendôme, came next; then the ambassador of Spain, having on his right hand the Count de Brionne, master of the ceremonies to the ambassadors; they were followed by the Dukes of Vernueil, of Maine,† the Count de Vermandois,‡ and the Prince of Roche-sur-Yon.

"The Prince of Conti, dressed in a cloak embroidered with pearls and diamonds, walked alone, as proxy for the King of Spain.

"The king came next, preceded by two grooms of the chamber, with their maces, and by the Marquis de Tilladet, captain of the Swiss Guard. Behind the king came the Duke of Luxembourg, captain of the body-guard; the Duke of Gesores, first gentleman of the chamber; the Prince of Marsillac, grand master of the wardrobe.

"The queen was conducted by the Duc de la Vrillière, her che-

* The royal insignia.
† Son of Louis XIV. by Madame de Montespan.
‡ Son of Louis XIV. by Mademoiselle La Vallière.

valier of honor, and by the Marquis of Hautefort, her first esquire. The train of her mantle, which was nine yards long, was borne by the Duchess of Richelieu, her lady of honor..

"Mademoiselle came next: her shape, air, mildness, and the graces which appeared in her entire person, caused all who beheld her to declare that she deserved the crown bestowed upon her by her father. She was conducted by Monseigneur the dauphin; who was followed by the Duke de Montansier, his first gentleman, and by Monsieur, who was followed by the Chevalier de Châtillon, captain of his guards.

"The train of Mademoiselle's mantle was six yards long: it was borne by Mademoiselle d'Orléans, by the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, and by the Duchess of Guise. Madame was conducted by the Count de Vaillac, her chevalier of honor, and by the Marquis of Broon, her first esquire: her mantle was seven yards long: the train was borne by the Maréchale du Plessis, her lady of honor.

"Mademoiselle* followed her, conducted by the Marquis of Effiat: the train of her mantle was borne by the Count of Flamarin.

"Next followed Mademoiselle de Blois,† conducted by the Count of St. Ceran; Mademoiselle de Nantes, conducted by the Marquis of Dangeau; and the Duchess of Vernueil, conducted by the Marquis of St. Heran.

"The duchesses and the ladies of the palace closed the procession.

"In this order they issued from the queen's apartments, and proceeded to the chapel, amidst the sound of trumpets, fifes, and drums, which they met at the entrance of the gallery of Francis I., and between two ranks of body-guards, posted wherever they had to pass. They found at the end of the gallery the hundred Swiss of the guard, and at the bottom of the elliptic staircase the archers of the grand provost.

"When they entered the chapel the archers stopped at the gate, the hundred Swiss and the drummers remained under the gallery. The king-at-arms and the four heralds went and knelt down at each side of the altar, and the knights of the order sat down upon their benches, to the right and left of the elevated dais.

"The Duke of Crussol, the grand prior, and the Duke of Ven-

* Sister of the bride; led by her mother's murderer!

† Natural daughter of Louis XIV. by Madame de Montespan; afterwards wife of the Regent Orleans.

dôme, placed themselves upon a bench covered with a pall of violet-colored velvet, ornamented with golden *fleurs-de-lis*, which had been prepared for them at the right of the seats belonging to the secretaries of state.

"The Marquis of los Balbazés, the Count of Brionne, and the master of the ceremonies of the ambassadors, placed themselves on a similar bench, to the left of the council.

"When the king arrived under the dais, he knelt down before a *prie-dieu;* after which he remained standing, having behind him his *fauteuil* of violet-velvet, covered with *fleurs-de-lis* of gold. The queen placed herself on his left, having behind her a similar *fauteuil.* Mademoiselle placed herself between the king and the queen, a little further from the *prie-dieu.* Monseigneur the dauphin and Monsieur held the hand of Mademoiselle all the time. Mademoiselle d'Orléans,* the grand duchess, and Madame de Guise, continued to hold her train. Madame then placed herself behind the queen; Mademoiselle de Valois placed herself at the other side. The Prince of Conti and the Prince of Roche-sur-Yon placed themselves opposite one another, behind Madame. The other dukes and duchesses took their stations in one rank, at the end of the dais.

"The Bishop of Orleans, first almoner of the king, and all the dignitaries of the church, had ranged themselves between the *prie-dieu* and the altar.

"After the heralds of arms had made their obeisance to the altar and to the court, the king, the queen, the princes, and Mademoiselle, descended from the dais to go to the altar; Monseigneur the dauphin and Monsieur let go the hand of Mademoiselle, and the Prince of Conti placed himself at her right: the ambassador of Spain also approached the altar, in order to witness the marriage.

"Then the Cardinal of Bouillon commenced the marriage ceremony: he blessed thirteen pieces of gold, and a ring of mingled gold and silver, which was presented to him in a basin, and gave them to the Prince of Conti, who placed the ring on the fourth finger of Mademoiselle's left hand, and gave her the thirteen pieces of gold in faith of marriage, in the name of the King of Spain.

"When the cardinal asked the Prince of Conti if, as proxy for Charles II., King of Spain, he took Maria Louisa of Orleans for

* More properly, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the eccentric daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans.

his wife, the Prince of Conti turned towards the king, and made him a profound bow before replying. Mademoiselle, also, before giving her reply, courtesied to the king, the queen, to Monsieur, and to Madame, in order to ask their leave.

"When the marriage ceremony was over, Mademoiselle, having become Queen of Spain by the sacrament, walked first, conducted by Monseigneur the dauphin and by Monsieur, the train of the princess borne by the same princesses, and went to place herself between the *prie-dieu* and a *fauteuil* with golden *fleurs-de-lis*, which had been prepared for her between those belonging to the king and queen, and on the same line.

"The king and queen returned to their places on the dais. The dauphin let go the Queen of Spain's hand, and seated himself behind her on a velvet stool: the other princes and princesses replaced themselves as they were, according to their rank.

"The officers of the king—those who had followed the dauphin, Monsieur, and Madame—remained standing on the first step of the dais, as did likewise the Bishop of Condom,* first almoner of the dauphin: the Bishop of Mans, first almoner of Monsieur; and the Abbé Tallemant, almoner of Madame.

"When the king and the queens had returned to the dais, the Cardinal de Bouillon, assisted by the bishops, came to offer holy water to the Queen of Spain, and to the king, and commenced the mass.

"After the offertory, and during the usual offering of incense, the king-at-arms bowed to the altar, as did the Queen of Spain, the king, the queen, M. le Dauphin, Monsieur and Mademoiselle de Valois, who bore the honors for the Queen of Spain. He then went and knelt before the altar, bearing a taper, and offering twenty crowns of gold; and after the Marquis of Rhodes, grand master of the ceremonies, had performed the same salutations, Mademoiselle de Valois approached the altar, and the queen descended from the raised dais, and knelt upon a cushion before the cardinal, who was in a *fauteuil*, with the assistant bishops on each side of him, likewise seated in *fauteuil*. She kissed the ring he wore on his finger, and presented to him the taper she had taken from the hands of Mademoiselle de Valois, who had herself received it from the Marquis of Rhodes; she then returned to her place between the king and the queen.

"A moment afterwards, one of the four heralds of arms went through the same salutations, knelt by the altar, bearing a taper,

* The celebrated Bossuet.

and offered twenty crowns of gold; and the Prince of Conti, followed by the Duke of Crussol, went to kiss the cardinal's ring, and then returned to his place.

"After the *pater*, the Queen of Spain went and knelt before the cardinal, on a carpet of crimson velvet, on which cushions of the same color had been placed. The Prince of Conti followed her, and knelt down on her right hand, before the cardinal. Then the Bishop of Orleans on the right, and the Abbé de Lionne on the left, stretched over the heads of the Queen of Spain and the Prince of Conti a pall of silver brocade, which they did not remove until the cardinal had finished the usual prayers. The cardinal finished the mass; then advancing towards the raised dais, he gave the host to kiss to the Queen of Spain, to the king, and to the queen.

"The cardinal, who had caused the Holy Gospel to be brought, then opened it, and presented it to the king. The Chancellor of France, and the Sieur de Pompone, secretary of state, ascended the dais, and the Sieur de Pompone read aloud the oath, by which the king swore to remain at peace with Spain; while the king, kneeling down, held his right hand placed on the Gospel, which the cardinal, standing up, and wearing the mitre, held for him.

"The ambassador of Spain had approached to witness this.

"The curate of Fontainebleau brought the register of marriages belonging to the parish. The king, the queen, the dauphin, Monsieur and Madame, signed as witnesses, in one line; the Queen of Spain and the Prince of Conti, signed in another; and the curate under them all.

"The cardinal then commenced the *Te Deum*, which was sung by the choristers, and was accompanied by the music of the chapel. After which the Queen of Spain was conducted back to her apartments: she walked first, escorted by the dauphin and by Monsieur, her train borne by the same princesses as before. The king and queen followed her. When she had arrived, the Marquis de los Balbazés having complimented the king, thanking him on the part of the King of Spain, conducted the Prince of Conti to his apartments, and was himself escorted home by the Count of Brionne.

"The king and the queen, accompanied by the princes and the princesses-royal, then departed to return to their own apartments, and the Queen of Spain accompanied them as far as the guard-room."*

* Relation des Cérémonies du Mariage du Roi d'Espagne avec Mademoiselle.—*Gazette de* 1679.

During this long and fatiguing ceremony the countenance of Maria Louisa was placid and unmoved. Her emotions were concealed under a faint smile, reminding us of the painful description of the poet—

> "As a beam o'er the face of the waters may glow,
> While the tide runs in darkness and coldness below;
> So the cheek may be tinged with a warm sunny smile,
> While the cold heart to ruin runs darkly the while."*

The ceremonies were concluded in the evening by a magnificent ball, and a great display of fireworks. On the following day, and during the greater part of the ensuing week, the new Queen of Spain had to pay the usual state visits to the royal family, the princes and the princesses of the blood, and the chief nobility. Her inattention to the rigid rules of strict etiquette on these occasions gave umbrage to the Spanish ambassadors; but they did not venture to make any remonstrance, beyond directing the attention of the queen to the solemn and stately rejoicings which Charles had commanded at Madrid. They were more deeply mortified by the grief and despair she manifested whenever any mention was made of her approaching departure;† indeed, she took so little care to hide her feelings, that her reluctance was the general subject of conversation in court, camp, and city.‡

There were some circumstances in the preparations for the reception of the new queen at Madrid, not at all calculated to diminish her regret at being exiled from France. Charles had taken upon himself the nomination of her entire household, and had limited the number of her French attendants to two or three domestics. It was not without great difficulty that Maria Louisa procured the exemption of her nurse from this prohibition.§ We find the following account of the nominations to the young queen's court, inserted in the *French Gazette*, as extracts from the official publications at Madrid:—

* Moore's Melodies.

† "The young Queen of Spain cries for mercy, and throws herself at everybody's feet. I know not with what feelings this despair will be viewed in Spain."—*Madame de Sevigné's Letter*, p. 562.

"The Queen of Spain has become a perfect fountain of tears; I can now very easily comprehend the pain of separations."—*Ibid.* p. 567.

‡ "People say, Monsieur is so good that he will not let her go, since her departure causes such affliction."—*Ibid.*

§ It is said that she owed her success to the interest of Mademoiselle de Fontanges, who, about this time, was publicly acknowledged as the royal favorite, and was all-powerful with Louis XIV.

"The charge of first esquire to the queen, originally destined for the Marquis de Monroi, recently deceased, will be given to the Marquis de Vilameina. The Marquis of Astorga will be the queen's major-domo-major; and the Duchess of Terra-Nova her *camerera-mayor*.* Most of the ladies and maids of honor have gone to Toledo, to take leave of the queen-mother;† and, on their return, will take possession of the apartments prepared for them at the palace. In the month of September they will set out, under the guardianship of the Duc d'Ossona, the king's chief esquire, to receive the queen on the frontiers of France. The king has given each of these ladies a thousand pistoles for their traveling expenses, and a pension of one hundred thousand ducats. The Archdeacon of Madrid has been appointed *capellano-mayor* to the queen, and has refused the money offered him by the king for his expenses. The king awaits the queen with great impatience. He has ordered triumphal arches to be erected, and every preparation to be made for giving her a magnificent reception. It is believed that he will go to meet her as far as Burgos, accompanied by his entire court, and that from thence he will proceed *incognito* to the frontiers, to kiss her hand as a private gentleman."‡

The most important of these nominations was that of the Duchess de Terra-Nova, who was placed as a spy over the actions of the queen, and held a place precisely similar to that of the duenna in private families. She was descended paternally from the ancient house of the Pignatelli,§ and was, through her mother, the representative and heiress of Hernando Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico.‖ Her person is said to have been meagre and pale; her disposition was alike imperious and obstinate; no scruple at any time impeded the removal of every obstacle to her imperious will. Don Carlos of Aragon was murdered by bravos, whom she brought expressly from Valencia, because he disputed her title to the duchy of Terra-Nova.¶ The noise this affair made compelled her to retire to Aragon, where she became acquainted with Don John of Austria, the victor at the memorable battle of

* Mistress of the robes. In Spain, this office included also the functions of the duenna.

† She had been exiled from court by her son, but was permitted to return on the occasion of his marriage.

‡ Extracted from the Gazette of August 30th, 1679.

§ Descended from "The Great Captain," Gonsalvo de Cordova.

‖ Her titles now belong to the ducal house of Monteleone in Sicily.

¶ Memoirs of the Court of Spain, by Madame d'Aulnay, vol. i.

Lepanto. Don John was the king's natural brother, and had acquired such an ascendency over the feeble mind of Charles, that he induced him to banish the queen-mother to Toledo. Even at this period, when his death was hourly expected, he had sufficient influence to get the Duchess of Terra-Nova appointed to the most important situation in the household of the young queen.

Maria Louisa might have relied on the Marquis d'Astorga, whose place made him the natural rival of the duchess, and who was known to regard her with no friendly feelings; but he was deficient in firmness and energy. She had also claims on the Duc d'Ossona, who had been recalled from exile on the occasion of her marriage; but the duke did not bear a high character; he was believed to have procured the assassination of the Count d'Humanges, for having been his successful rival in the favors of a fair but frail lady at the court of Spain.*

On the 20th of September, Maria Louisa took her last farewell of the brilliant court of France. Louis XIV. accompanied her two or three leagues in the carriage, and, when making his adieux, said, "Madame, I bid you farewell for ever; the greatest misfortune which could happen to you would be to return to France."† The young queen then quitted the royal carriage for that of Monsieur. She had no sooner taken her seat than Louis XIV., who seems to have dreaded a scene with the dauphin, made a hasty sign to his principal equerry,‡ and the royal train returned to the palace at full gallop. On reaching Amboise, Maria Louisa parted from her father, her young sister, and her step-mother. Her sorrow produced so sensible an effect on her health, that it was necessary to halt a few days to allow her to regain her strength. Thus sadly commenced a marriage, destined to be unhappy during its continuance, and fatal in its close.

* Memoirs of the Court of Spain, *ut suprà*.
† Etat de la France, vol. i. p. 277.
‡ The Marquis de Benughen.

CHAPTER V.

DEATH OF DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.—THE YOUNG QUEEN'S ARRIVAL AT BOURDEAUX.—ENTERTAINMENTS AND REJOICINGS THERE.—CEREMONY OF DELIVERING UP THE QUEEN TO THE SPANISH ENVOYS.—CHARLES II. OF SPAIN AT BURGOS.—SCENE BETWEEN THE MARQUIS DE VILLARS AND THE DUCHESS DE TERRA NOVA.—RECEPTION OF THE QUEEN BY HER HUSBAND.—THE SECOND MARRIAGE.—THE QUEEN'S APPEARANCE IN PUBLIC.—CELEBRATION OF THAT EVENT.—LETTER OF MADAME DE VILLARS.—THE QUEEN'S SOLEMN ENTRY INTO MADRID.—THE OMEN PRECEDING IT.—ACCIDENT TO THE QUEEN.—SPANISH ETIQUETTE.—THE DUCHESS DE TERRA NOVA AND THE PARROTS.—AN AUTO DA FE.—ITS PURPOSE.—DISMISSAL OF THE DUCHESS DE TERRA NOVA.—THE ATTEMPTED VENGEANCE.—ARRIVAL OF THE COUNTESS DE SOISSONS AT MADRID.—HER FORMER LIFE.—HER ACTIVE AGENCY IN A DREADFUL PLOT.—HER ESCAPE.—DEATH OF QUEEN MARIA LOUISA.

ALMOST the only pleasure Maria Louisa felt in her journey from Fontainebleau to the frontier, was derived from the consciousness of her emancipation from the authority of the Maréchale de Clérembault. She took advantage of the delay occasioned by her illness to invite her old friend Madame de Saint Chaumont to meet her at Poitiers; and this lady, who had been exiled to her estates, simply on account of her attachment to the late Madame, Henrietta of England, hastened to receive the embraces of her former pupil. The Maréchale was furious, but no attention was paid to her anger or her remonstrances.* At Poitiers, also, she learned the death of Don John of Austria: he had bequeathed his estates to the king, and his rich jewels were to be equally divided between the young Queen of Spain and the queen-mother.†

Having arrived at Blaye, the Queen of Spain resolved to go by water to Bourdeaux. D'Effiat, whom her father had employed as his ambassador in Madrid, met her at this town, with another letter from the King of Spain, which she was compelled to receive;

* The queen showed infinite tenderness to Madame de St. Chaumont, as she passed through Spain. The Maréchale de Clérembault did not open her mouth from the day of the interview.

† Gazette, October 5, 1679.

but when he offered his hand to lead her to the boat, she promptly passed him, and took the arm of the Sieur Pontoise, saying that he ought to conduct her to the ship, as it was he who had prepared it for her reception.*

The "Gazette" records, with great minuteness, the entertainments and rejoicings with which Maria Louisa was received in Bourdeaux, the impression her amiable manners produced on all classes of the citizens, and the reluctance with which they saw the preparations for the continuance of her journey.† She shared this reluctance; but letters had arrived intimating that her household was assembled at Irun, where her presence was impatiently expected. A house had been prepared for her on the banks of the Bidassoa, the little river which separates France from Spain, and here she had to go through another of those tedious ceremonies which she felt to be most fatiguing. That the account of it may not weary our readers, we shall take the liberty of abridging it very considerably.

So soon as the arrival of the queen on the right bank of the Bidassoa had been signalled to the Spaniards on the opposite side, the Marquis d'Astorga, as major-domo, came across in the royal barge to salute his new mistress, and to inform her of the preparations that had been made for her reception. He was received on landing by the Sieur de Sainlot, who acted as master of the ceremonies, and who conducted him to a room where the young queen was seated, with the Prince d'Harcourt on her right, and the Princess d'Harcourt on her left, the Maréchale de Clérembault and the Marchioness de Grancey standing behind her chair.

On being introduced, the Marquis d'Astorga threw himself at the queen's feet, and kissed her hand: she commanded him to rise, and be covered: he obeyed, and the Prince d'Harcourt, at the same time putting on his hat, formally announced to the marquis that he had been ordered by the King of France to deliver the Queen of Spain into his hands.

The Sieur du Châteauneuf, councillor in the Parliament of Paris, then read the act of delivery in French, and Don Alonzo Carnero did the same in Spanish; after which, the Marquis d'Astorga informed the queen that it was time to embark on board the boat prepared to convey her to the Spanish side. The escort of the royal guard which had accompanied her from Fontainebleau, followed the queen to the very edge of the river, and when she stepped

* Mémoires de Madame d'Aulnay.
† Gazette of October 29, 1679.

on board threw themselves on their knees, and bade her adieu with cheers, prayers, and blessings. The queen was much affected; but when she came on board the vessel, she had to receive the redoubtable Duchess of Terra-Nova, who at the same time presented to her several Spanish ladies. In about five minutes afterwards she had reached the frontier of her new kingdom, to which she was welcomed by the homage of the most illustrious grandees of Spain.*

On reaching Vittoria, the royal party received intelligence that the impatient king, accompanied by the Archbishop of Burgos, was hastening to that city, to perform the last nuptial ceremony. "The king," says a cotemporary,† "would listen to no advice opposed to his purpose. He is transported with love and impatience; so that, with such feelings, there can be no doubt that the destiny of the young queen will be happy." He was, however, compelled to halt at Burgos, while the young queen had to experience her first perplexity in matters of Spanish etiquette, by being summoned to decide a dispute on precedency, between the Marquis d'Astorga and the Duc d'Ossona. It was fortunately terminated by a command from the king, that the duke should attend him at Burgos.

From the moment the queen entered Spain she found herself surrounded by strangers, whose immovable gravity and rigid adherence to ceremonial etiquette were most wearisome, especially to one who had been accustomed to the brilliant saloons of Louis XIV. Her Spanish attendants were resolved to coerce her into an immediate observance of their national manners, and did not make any allowance for the mistakes into which she was continually led by her ignorance of the language. "They thought it necessary that the queen should at once commence the course to which they were resolved she should adhere through life. They would not grant her the slightest relaxation, and from that time she was subject to a positive slavery, which was rendered more oppressive by the rigid disposition of the *camerera-mayor;* but the natural mildness of the queen, and her sound intelligence, led her to endure with a good grace tedious observances, which fatigued her much, and displeased her more."‡

As the queen approached Burgos, a new source of anxiety arose,

* Gazette of November 16, 1679.

† The Marchioness de Villars, whose husband was then ambassador at Madrid. We shall often have occasion to quote her letters in this chapter.

‡ Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne, vol. i. p 227.

out of the intrigues of the Spaniards to prevent the French ambassador, the Marquis de Villars, and the Prince d'Harcourt, from witnessing the repetition of the royal marriage. For this purpose it had been secretly proposed that the king, instead of waiting at Burgos, should meet the queen at the little village of Quintinapalla, about three leagues in advance, and that the rites should be performed there by the patriarch of the Indies, while the ostensible preparations were continued in Burgos. Villars, who had gone to pay his respects to the queen at Birbiesca, met the patriarch on his way back to Burgos, and, divining the trick that was designed, immediately returned to Birbiesca.*

The reappearance of the Marquis de Villars and the Prince d'Harcourt caused great surprise to the queen, and greater annoyance to the Duchess de Terra-Nova.† A sharp scene occurred between the ambassador and the duchess: she met his remonstrances with the plain declaration that he should not assist at the marriage, for that the king had given orders to admit no one into the chapel, save those whose presence was indispensably necessary. The Marquis de Villars replied in a resolute tone—

"The king, my master, has ordered us to be present, and we must attend."

"The king, your master, has no authority in Spain," was the haughty reply of the Duchess of Terra-Nova.

"He has authority over his ambassadors, madame," said Villars, "and we obey him everywhere. If his Catholic majesty has resolved to exclude us from the marriage, he must give us an order to that effect in writing."

The *camerera-mayor*, upon receiving this answer, flew into a passion, and used such indecorous language that the Marquis de Villars and the Prince d'Harcourt quitted her very unceremoniously, and went to the Marquis d'Astorga, having first secretly communicated to the queen the insult about to be offered to the French ambassadors. A note from Madame de Grancey induced the Marquis d'Astorga at once to send a courier to the king, informing him of the dissatisfaction which would inevitably be produced by the exclusion of the French noblemen from the approaching ceremony. The obnoxious arrangements were in consequence set aside.‡

* Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne, vol. i. p. 251. The detail of these intrigues is so minute as to be tedious; but the narrative abounds in precedents for a long course of domestic diplomacy.

† La Marquise de Villars says that it was the *camerera-mayor* who devised the plot.

‡ Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne, vol. i. p. 254.

On the morning of the 19th of November, the queen was for the first time to be appareled in the Spanish costume, and to place herself in the hands of her Spanish ladies in waiting.* The robing, which appears to have been a most elaborate affair, had scarcely been completed, when a flourish of drums and trumpets announced the approach of the king. His impatience led Charles to forget or to defy etiquette: he rushed into the saloon, caught the queen in his arms before she could throw herself at his feet, and passionately exclaimed, "*Mi reina! mi reina!*"†

Orders were issued to make immediate preparations for the second nuptial benediction; an altar was prepared in the queen's antechamber, and such hasty arrangements were effected as the miserable village of Quintinapalla allowed: disputes about etiquette were cut short by royal impatience; and the patriarch of the Indies went through the second marriage ceremony with a precipitation which formed a strange contrast to the stately ceremonial at Fontainebleau. The king and the queen, having dined together in public, proceeded to Burgos, where they spent the night.

On the following day, the queen appeared in public mounted on an English horse—a circumstance which gave great offence to the Spanish prudes. "She was so beautiful and so charming, that all who beheld her were ravished at the sight. Three grandees of Spain marched before her; the Marquis d'Astorga followed. A canopy was borne over the head of the queen. She was accompanied by the ladies of honor on horseback, and by the old Duchess of Terra-Nova on her mule. *Parcyas*‡ were the chief amusement of the day. Sixty gentlemen, clad in silver brocade, started. Three days were spent in these amusements, and then it became necessary to set out for Madrid.§

At Burgos, the queen dismissed the Maréchale de Clérembault, whose presence she had long found insupportable; but she had also to bid farewell to Madame de Grancey, towards whom she

* One of her favorite French attendants, Mademoiselle Fauvelet, had died the preceding evening. The young lady had fallen sick at Vittoria, but, perceiving the anxiety of the Spaniards to separate the young queen from all of her own country, she feared, if she remained behind, she would never be permitted to rejoin her royal mistress. The fatigues of the journey proved too much for the young lady, and she died in her litter.—*Lettres de Madame de Villars.*

† "My queen! my queen!"—This passionate warmth displeased the rigid courtiers.—See *Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne*, vol. i. p. 255.

‡ Horse-races.

§ Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne, vol. i. p. 260.

entertained very different feelings.* On parting with the latter, she gave her a warrant for an annual pension of two thousand crowns.† After the departure of these ladies, the despotism of the camérera-mayor began to be established. She represented to the king "that the queen ought to live in the same retirement as the other ladies of Madrid; that she was young, animated, possessed of brilliant wit, and accustomed to French manners; and that what is innocent and allowable in one country, might be criminal and prohibited in another; but, if the king relied on her, she would take such precautions as would prevent any misfortune. Charles II. applauded her zeal, and expressed his determination to take advice so conformable to the natural jealousy and prejudices of the Spaniards."‡

At Torrejon, near Madrid, Maria Louisa was met by the queen-mother, who received her most affectionately, and presented her with some splendid diamonds. On the 8th of September, the king and queen entered Madrid in an open carriage: they proceeded to the church of Notre Dame d'Alocha, where the *Te Deum* was sung; and in the evening they went to Buen Retiro, a royal palace outside the city, where it was decided that their majesties should remain until the preparations were completed for the queen's solemn entry into the capital.

The Duchess of Terra-Nova took advantage of this interval to assert her despotic power. She refused the French ambassador admission to the queen until the ceremony of the public entry was over, and when she found that this prohibition could not be maintained, she insisted that the ambassador should not be accompanied by his marchioness. It was with some difficulty that Maria Louisa prevailed upon the king to revoke the decision of the imperious *camérera-mayor*, and he only consented on condition that he himself should be present at the interview. We shall allow the Marchioness de Villars to describe the circumstances of this audience.

* It appears that Madame de Grancey was not sorry to return to France: —"In Spain, all women under seventy years of age are shut up every night. When De Grancey accompanied the queen as lady-in-waiting, she was shut up as well as the rest,—a restraint which she felt to be insupportable."—*Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse*, &c.

† Gazette of December, 1679.

‡ Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne, vol. i. p. 264.

LETTER FROM MADAME DE VILLARS TO MADAME DE COULANGES.

"Madrid, 15th Dec. 1678.

"I went yesterday to the Retiro, the present abode of the king and queen. I entered through the apartment of the *camérera-mayor*, who received me with much politeness. She led me, through narrow passages, into a gallery where I expected to find the queen alone; but, to my surprise, I found there the whole royal family. The king was seated in a large easy-chair, and the queens upon cushions. The *camérera*, always holding me by the hand, told me how many courtesies I should make, and that I was to commence with the king. She led me so close to his Catholic majesty's seat, that I did not know what she wanted me to do. For my part, I thought all I had to do was to make a profound courtesy: an acknowledgment of which he did not return, although he did not seem sorry to see me. When I told this to Monsieur de Villars, he remarked that doubtless the *camérera* intended that I should kiss his majesty's hand: I had suspected as much, but felt no inclination to do so.

"There I was, then, in the midst of these three royal personages,—the queen-mother, as on the day before, making obliging speeches to me, and the young queen seeming very glad to see me. *I did what I could do to prevent her from showing it in a manner other than correct.* The king has a little Flemish dwarf, who understands and speaks French very well; he was of much use in the conversation. They sent for one of the maids of honor, wearing a *garde-infante*, to show me that machine. The king had my opinion of it asked, and I replied to the dwarf that I could not believe it was ever invented for the human body. He seemed to agree with me. I had been offered a cushion. I sat down on it for a moment out of obedience, but instantly availed myself of a slight pretext to arise, because I saw many ladies of honor standing. I remained so, although the queens often told me to sit down. The young queen presided at a slight collation, presented kneeling by ladies who have grand names, and who pretend to belong to the houses of Aragon, Portugal, Castile, and others still more illustrious.

"The young queen, as you may imagine, was dressed in the Spanish fashion, wearing some of those beautiful stuffs which she brought from France; her hair well-dressed, *de travers* upon her forehead, and the rest flowing down her shoulders. She has an admirable complexion, beautiful eyes, and a very agreeable mouth when she laughs. What a delightful thing it is to laugh in Spain!

But it is amusing enough that I should draw the queen's portrait for you.

"This gallery was pretty long, carpeted with damask and crimson velvet, ornamented with bands of wide gold-lace laid on very close to one another. From one end to the other it is the most beautiful carpet I have ever seen: tables, cabinets, brasiers, candlesticks upon the tables, and, from time to time, as the candles require snuffing, they are removed by female attendants, who bring in a fresh pair of silver candlesticks. They courtesy profoundly, and with grace. At a distance from the queens, there were some maids of honor on low seats, and several ladies of an advanced age in their widows' dress, standing leaning against the wall. The king and queen departed after three-quarters of an hour, the king going before. The queen took her mother-in-law by the hand, passing before at the door of the gallery; after which she returned to me with the utmost speed. The *camérera-mayor* did not return, and it seemed as if full liberty were given to the queen to converse with me. There remained only one old lady at a great distance. She told me that, if that lady had not been there, she would be glad to kiss me. I arrived there at four o'clock: I did not leave before half-past seven, and then it was I who proposed going.

"I assure you, madame, that I should have been well pleased if the king, the queen-mother, and the *camérera-mayor*, could have heard all I said to the princess. I wish you knew it yourself, and that you could have seen us walking in that gallery, which the flambeaux rendered very agreeable. The young queen, in the novelty and beauty of her dress, with an infinity of diamonds, was enchanting.

"Imagine, once for all, that white and black are not more different, than the modes of life in Spain and France. I think the young princess conducts herself very well. She wished to accord me the honor of seeing her every day. I assured her that nothing would give me greater pleasure; but I begged her to excuse me, unless she could prove to me, clear as day, that the king and queen-mother desired it as much as she did. The *camérera-mayor* came to receive me at the door of the gallery, in order to conduct me back. I found there the French women belonging to the queen; I told them to learn Spanish, and to avoid, as much as possible, speaking a word of French to the queen. I knew they were scolded when they spoke to her too often. I repeated in Spanish, to the *camérera-mayor*, what I had said to them. She

was much obliged to me. This, madame, is all I can write to you of my first visit.

"Farewell, madame. If my letter do not prove to you the pleasure I take in thinking of you, and of conversing with you, I know not how to persuade you of it. Perhaps you would prefer doubting it, for this is a long letter. Such, however, as you see it, *I have not written a thousand things I would willingly tell you.* I do not think, even if all the world saw this, that I could be blamed or reproached for it. Nevertheless, *make use of it with prudence.*"

The 13th of January was the day fixed for the queen's solemn entry into Madrid. It was preceded by an event from which Spanish superstition drew a most unfavorable omen. The queen's hair had to be dressed in the Spanish fashion, in long bands without curls. One obstinate lock resisted this regulation, and the Duchess de Terra-Nova attempted to fasten it down with her spittle. The queen, disgusted at such a filthy proceeding, seized the duchess by the arm, and commanded her to forbear; but in her haste she threw down a large candelabrum, which, falling against her mirror, cracked it from top to bottom. The Spanish ladies uttered loud lamentations, for the breaking of a looking-glass in Spain, as in Ireland, is regarded as the certain harbinger of misfortune.* This event threw a gloom over a ceremonial which would otherwise have been splendid. Nor was the close of the day without its mortification. When the queen, having reached the palace, wished to survey from her window the vast crowds which filled the courts, she was pulled back by the *camérera-mayor*, who informed her that no Queen of Spain could look out of a window, or speak to anybody, without previous permission from the king.†

Charles began early to manifest a profound dislike of the queen's French attendants and companions; he compelled her to dismiss most of her ladies-in-waiting; and he manifested a personal dislike to the French ambassador, the Marquis de Villars.‡ When the queen remonstrated with him on the subject, he angrily replied, *Et que me quitaram iste ambaxador, y me embiaran otre cavacho?*§ "Who will rid me of that ambassador, and send some other knave in his place?"

* Relation du Voyage d'Espagne, vol. iii. p. 385.

† Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne, vol. i. p. 275.

‡ "The king takes great pleasure in seeing the number of Frenchmen in her train daily diminish, for he cannot conceal his extreme hatred of our nation."—*Lettres de Madame de Villars*, p. 97.

§ Relation du Voyage d'Espagne. The writer gives the king's own bad

In one of his fond fits, Charles had presented the queen with some fine Andalusian horses, that she might enjoy the pleasures of the chase. One of these was brought into the court of the palace, and the queen sprang into the saddle; but at that instant the steed, startled by some noise, suddenly swerved, and she was flung to the ground, her foot being still held in the stirrup. All saw her danger, but they feared to go to her assistance, for the rigid laws of Spain denounced the touching of a queen's foot as an act of treason. Two cavaliers, Don Luis de las Torres and Don Jaime de Soto-Mayor, braved the peril, and saved the queen. But Maria Louisa had to exert all her influence to obtain for them the royal pardon; but, even after it was granted, they were secretly warned to quit Madrid, and never to speak of the illegal service they had rendered to their sovereign.*

Bull-fights were a favorite pastime of Charles II.; and the dislike of them shown by the French greatly increased his hatred of that nation, and all that belonged to it—a hatred that extended to two parrots which had been taught to speak a few words of French, and which the queen had brought with her.† The Duchess of Terra-Nova observed the grimace which the king made whenever these birds uttered a phrase in the obnoxious language; and, watching her opportunity, when the queen was absent, she twisted their necks with her own hands. Maria Louisa was naturally indignant at this wanton outrage, which was communicated to her by her ladies. When the *camérera-mayor* came to kiss her hand, according to custom, she withdrew it hastily, and gave the haughty duchess a slap in the face.

Such an insult was not to be endured by the descendant of "The Great Captain" and Hernando Cortes; the enraged *camérera* rushed from the palace, assembled her relations and friends, to

Spanish, to show that Charles had been imperfectly instructed, even in his native language.

* Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne, vol. ii. p. 39. It is added that a rigid inquiry was instituted to discover whether Maria Louisa had any previous knowledge of these gentlemen: it appeared that she was unacquainted with them, even by sight.

† "We had yesterday the most brilliant bull-fight which has been seen in Spain for several reigns; six grandees, or sons of grandees, were the *toréadors* (bull-fighters). I thought I should have died during the first hour;—that is, perhaps, too strong an expression;—but I felt such emotion and palpitation of the heart, that I feared I could hold out no longer. I was rising to withdraw from the balcony, when M. de Villars informed me that this would be an unpardonable breach of etiquette."—*Lettres de Marquise de Villars*, p. 78.

the number of four hundred, and related the treatment she had received—but without mentioning the provocation she had given. They all, with one accord, went to demand satisfaction from the king. Charles hastened to the queen in a fury, and the consequences might have been serious, had not Madame Viremont whispered to the king that it was an *antojo*—that is, "the freak of a pregnant woman."*

From rage, the king passed into an excess of joy bordering on insanity; and, so long as the illusion lasted, his delight knew no bounds.† But when time showed that his hopes had been ill-founded, he fell into a state of gloom and melancholy which inspired the courtiers with more terror than pity. Superstition was all-powerful in such a state of the royal mind. Don Diego Sarmiento di Valladarés, inquisitor-general of Spain, persuaded the king that the celebration of a grand *auto da fé* would probably induce Heaven to grant his wishes. Charles gave the desired authority without hesitation, and a proclamation was issued, announcing that this horrible spectacle would be exhibited in the *plaça mayor* of Madrid, on Sunday, January 30, 1680.

The preparations occupied an entire month, and the arrangements were superintended by some of the principal nobles of the kingdom. Don Francisco Bazan was intrusted with the care of providing refreshments for the ministers of the holy office, "seeing that the solemnity," says the ordinance, "is likely to last the entire day, and occasion much fatigue to the inquisitor and his associates."‡

At seven in the morning of the appointed day, Charles, accompanied by the queen and the queen-mother, took his seat on the throne which had been prepared for him at one side of the amphitheatre. The chief inquisitor then rose from his throne, which was more elevated and more richly decorated than that of royalty, assumed his sacerdotal vestments, and administered to the king the oath usual on such occasions.§ The business of the day

* The Spaniards believed that any attempt to check such a freak would cause a premature birth, and the death of the child.

† Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne, vol. ii. p. 100.

‡ The details are given at wearisome length by Don José del Olmo, whose narrative has been translated into French by M. de Mortouval.

§ The following is a literal translation of this oath: "Your majesty swears and promises, on your royal faith and word, as a true Catholic king deriving your power from God, that you will, to the utmost of your strength, defend all that the Holy Apostolic Mother Church of Rome believes and maintains, and that you will labor for its conservation and aggrandizement;

began with the trial of those who had died in the prisons of the Inquisition or under torture; rude representations of these persons were brought before the tribunal by persons in grotesque masks, who also carried their bones in cases, which were to be thrown on the pile after it had been kindled. These puppets were sentenced with due gravity, and were then placed on the fagots.

The living victims were next produced, who were twenty-two in number: twenty were Jews, one was a renegade, and one a Mohammedan. After a mockery of trial, these wretches were made to defile on asses before the king and the assembled throng, after which they were led to the pile and chained to stakes which had been prepared. Two, having offered to make full revelations of all they knew, were privately examined, and pronounced worthy of pardon; the rest were left to their fate. The ceremony had lasted eight hours, when repeated volleys of musketry, flourishes of trumpets, rolling of drums, and loud huzzas from the populace, at once announced that the flames had been kindled, and drowned the cries of the sufferers.

This expedient having failed to render Charles a father, he became more morose and jealous than ever; to drown his mortification, he commanded a new series of bull-fights, at which the reluctant Maria Louisa was compelled to assist, and witness the death of some of the finest young men in Spain.*

Seven years elapse, during which we have but vague and incidental notices of the condition of Maria Louisa:† but about this time an intrigue of the court, to her great surprise and delight, delivered her from her worst enemy, the Duchess de Terra-Nova. Encouraged by the success of minor intrigues, she had entered

that you will diligently prosecute all heretics and apostates who are its enemies; that you will give, and command to be given, the aid and succor necessary to the Holy Office of the Inquisition and its ministers, so that the heretics and disturbers of our Christian religion may be apprehended and punished according to our sacred laws and canons, without any omission or exception on the part of your majesty, in favor of any person whatever."

* This King of Spain is uxorious, but he is also excessively jealous, without knowing of whom or what. His bull-fights have recently been frightful. Two grandees nearly lost their lives; their horses were killed under them. The arena is often stained with blood. Nice amusements these for a Christian kingdom. *Our* amusements are very different from a system of *destructiveness*, and much more easy to comprehend.—*Lettres de Madame de Lécrgné*, vol. v.

† The writer of the "Memoirs of the Court of Spain," from whose work we have quoted freely, sums up the history of these years in the significant words: "The king was jealous, and the queen unhappy."

into a conspiracy with Father Reluz, the king's confessor, to procure the dismissal of the Duke de Medina Corli, the favorite minister of Charles. This plot was discovered by the premier, who went to the chief inquisitor, and prevailed upon him to quiet any scruples the king might feel about dismissing his confessor, by the promise that the choice of a successor should be given to the inquisitor himself. Having secured such powerful aid, the duke proceeded to the king and tendered his resignation. The idea of being abandoned by the only minister who had any chance of remedying the evils by which Spain was menaced—the only man capable of relieving the financial embarrassments into which the monarchy had been plunged by the regency—so terrified the feeble Charles, that he promised everything the duke required. The *camérera-mayor* and the confessor were dismissed.*

Although the queen had nothing to do with these political changes, it was against her that the vengeance of the Duchess of Terra-Nova was now directed. She produced a Frenchman in her service,† who denounced Madame Viremont, the queen's nurse, of having plotted the poisoning of the king. Though such an accusation indirectly implicated the queen, Charles gave orders that Madame Viremont should be arrested, and examined by torture. Her innocence was not established until she had been subjected to the rack; she was liberated without receiving any compensation, and no steps were taken to punish her false accusers. Maria Louisa was too generous to detain her nurse any longer in a country where she was exposed to such dangers, and with a heavy heart she sent the reluctant Madame Viremont back to France.‡ Similar jealousy or malevolence induced the king to solicit the removal of the Marquis de Villars. He was recalled from Madrid, and was succeeded by the Marquis de Fouquières.

Ten years passed, and brought Maria Louisa the same unvarying round of intrigues, annoyances, and sufferings. There was no sign, and there was no longer any hope, of offspring. The king's health was such that his death might be daily expected. The laws of Spain declared the queen his heir; and when the niece of Louis XIV. should occupy the Spanish throne, the power of France would be irresistible.§ Austria, which had claims on

* Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne, vol. ii.

† His name was Léverllance, and he had previously been a page in the service of the Marquis de Villars.

‡ Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne, vol. ii.

§ The dread of this contingency made the Catholic powers of Europe, including the Papacy itself, view with complacency, if not approbation, the

Spain, and exercised great influence in the councils of Madrid, sent as ambassador to that capital the Count de Mansfeldt,*—a nobleman of great diplomatic skill, polished manners, and easy conversation, but utterly destitute of heart or conscience. Soon after his arrival the French ambassador died rather suddenly,† and his post was given to his second son, the Count de Rébenac. A far more important and dangerous personage had preceded the ambassadors: this was Olympia de Mancini,‡ Countess de Soissons, who had once encouraged the well-grounded hope of becoming the queen of Louis XIV.

Nothing could exceed the splendor and influence of the Countess de Soissons in the early part of the reign of Louis. Both before and after his marriage, the king spent the greater part of the day in her apartments, consulting her respecting the festivities and spectacles in which he delighted, and implicitly submitting to her dictation. The fear of having such power shared by the royal mistress, induced her to engage in a series of intrigues, which gave such offence to the king, that he exiled her from court. She obtained her recall by resigning her post of superintendent to Madame de Montespan; but she found on her return that her influence was gone, and that there was little chance of its recovery. But she was too ambitious, and had been too successful, to sink quietly into insignificance. Her husband had died some time before her, and she was suspected of having hastened his death; but she was far more seriously implicated in a series of poisonings traced to the agency of a midwife named La Voisin. This wretched woman was proved to have supplied an active poison, called "the powder of succession," to some of the most distinguished nobles and courtiers of France, among whom were parti-

English Revolution of 1688, which raised the Prince of Orange to the throne, instead of James II., who was wholly devoted to the cause of Louis XIV. See Melford's account of the Pope's refusal to aid James with arms, men, or money, during his Irish campaign, published in Ellis's Collection of Letters, illustrating English History.

* He had a high reputation as a statesman and a diplomatist. After his return from Spain, he became president of the council of war at Vienna. He was subsequently disgraced and exiled, under circumstances which proved that he never allowed scruples of conscience to interfere with the success of his schemes.

† The Marquis Pas de Fouquières, lieutenant-general in the king's army, and ambassador to Spain, died in Madrid, March 6.—*Gazette of March* 20, 1688.

‡ She was the niece of Cardinal Mazarin, and the mother of the celebrated Prince Eugene.

cularly eminent the Countess de Soissons, the Duchess de Bouillon, and the Marshal de Luxembourg. Interest or innocence saved some who had been denounced,* but the countess was so deeply compromised that she fled to Brussels, where she resided for several years. Her escape was said to have been effected by the connivance of the king. After a long residence in Brussels, she procured an invitation to Spain from the queen-mother, through the intervention of the Court of Vienna.†

There is no doubt the Austrian party had resolved that the Queen of Spain should become a mother or should die. But it may be questioned whether any one durst have proposed to her to be faithless to her husband's bed,‡as a means of saving her life. Louis XIV. was well aware of the perils that encircled his niece. When she fell sick of the small-pox, he ordered his ambassador to watch most carefully the progress of her illness and recovery. He commanded the accounts of the rejoicings for her convalescence to be inserted in the Gazette of France.§

The love Maria Louisa entertained for everything French, induced her to seek the intimacy of the Countess de Soissons; especially as Rébenac, the French ambassador, had so imprudently manifested his excessive admiration of the lovely queen, that any intimacy with him would have roused the wakeful jealousy of the king.‖ Charles II., who had learned the character of the Countess de Soissons, was very unwilling to admit her into the palace, and was only prevailed upon to do so at the urgent solicitation of the queen, backed by the recommendation of the queen-mother.¶ Rébenac, who was aware of the countess's alliance with Mansfeldt, sent warnings to the queen, but either his message was not received, or his representations were disregarded. One very hot day, the queen expressed a wish for milk, a rare luxury in Madrid: the countess said she had some in her apartments, and that she would go and prepare it with ice for her majesty. She then went to the Count d'Oropeza, successor to the

* La Voisin was burned alive, her hand having been previously burned through with a red-hot iron, and then cut off with a hatchet.

† Voyage en Espagne de Madame d'Aunay, vol. iii.

‡ The Memoirs attributed to M. d'Aunay assert that such a proposal was made by the Countess de Soissons in the name of the Austrian ambassador, and that the danger of a refusal was more than hinted. But, as the regency of Maria Louisa would have been as dangerous to Austria as her reign, we may be permitted to doubt the story.

§ See Gazette of 1688.

‖ Voyage en Espagne par Madame d'Aunay, vol. iii.

¶ Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. xii.

Duke of Medina Corli, and to the Count de Mansfeldt,* under the superintendence of one or both of whom the potion was prepared. The queen swallowed the draught, but felt no inconvenience from it for two or three hours, when she was seized with dreadful agonies. The physicians were summoned, and pronounced her case hopeless. Her sufferings, however, were less protracted than those of her mother: she died the same night.†

No sooner had the queen swallowed the poison, than the Countess de Soissons, who had previously made all her arrangements, quitted the palace, and was many miles on the road from Madrid before the effects of the poison began to be manifested. When suspicions were roused her absence was discovered, and orders were given for instant pursuit; but the measures of the Count de Mansfeldt were too well taken: she reached the coast, embarked on board an Austrian vessel kept ready for the purpose, and was safe in Germany before it was known with certainty that she had quitted Spain. The rest of her long life was wretched: she was shunned by persons of all ranks wherever she sought a temporary residence. She died at Brussels, poor and solitary, deserted even by her own son, the celebrated Prince Eugene.‡

Anna Maria, the sister of Maria Louisa, married Victor Amadeus II. Duke of Savoy, and afterwards successively king of Sicily and Sardinia. She died in childbirth at an early age. By

* "The Count de Mansfeldt and the Count d'Oropeza are both suspected of having been the authors of Maria Louisa's death, and they give themselves little trouble to justify themselves."—*Mémoires de Torcy.*

"Rébenac's passion did no mischief to our Queen of Spain; it was Count de Mansfeldt, with the needle-nose, who poisoned her."—*Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans.*

† This evening the king (Louis XIV.) learned the death of the young Queen of Spain. She was attacked with fits of vomiting and carried off in less than two days. This looks like foul play. The king communicated it to Monsieur, whose grief was most deep. Madame vented her sorrow in loud cries. The king came from them bathed in tears. . . . This poor Queen of Spain, when she died, only a year older than her mother at her death, died like her mother, in a strange manner. On the 10th of this month (February, 1689), she was seized with fits of vomiting so violent and extreme, that no remedy could bring her relief, and they were continued to the moment of her death. M. de Rébenac has written that nothing is so worthy of admiration as her courage, firmness, and sublime Christian feelings. She told the king that she did not regret life, and that her death was natural; though at first she said that, like her mother, she died by poison, and in penitence. In fine, nothing is said of poison: the word is prohibited in Versailles; still the queen is dead, and she is a sad loss in the present state of affairs.—*Lettres de Madame de Sévigné*, vol. vi.

‡ Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. xii.

descent from her, as granddaughter of Charles I., the kings of Sardinia, after the failure of issue in the Pretender's family, became the first legitimate heirs to the throne of Great Britain. Her daughter married the Duke of Burgundy, and as such became the second dauphiness of France. She was the grandmother of Louis XVI., who was thus sixth in generation from Charles I., to whom he bore so close a resemblance both in his character and in his fate.

Charles II. was married a second time, to an Austrian princess, and died childless, bequeathing his dominions to the son of the Duke of Anjou, who was the grandson of his sister and of Louis XIV. The House of Austria disputed the rich inheritance of the Spanish monarchy: England and Holland, through jealousy of France, supported her claims; and Europe was involved in the long wars of the Spanish succession, which ended in giving Spain and the Indies to the House of Bourbon.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH OF BAVARIA, SECOND DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.—ANECDOTES OF HER.—HER OPPORTUNITIES OF MARRIAGE.—HER DESCRIPTION OF HERSELF.—HER CONVERSION.—HER FIRST APPEARANCE AT THE FRENCH COURT.—HER RECEPTION BY LOUIS XIV.—PECULIARITIES OF MONSIEUR.—MADAME DE FIENNES.—ANECDOTE OF MADAME LA GRANCEY AND MADAME DE BOUILLON.—MADAME DE MAINTENON AND THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.—BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE FORMER.—THE DAUPHIN.—THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE.—STORY OF THE MONKS OF ST. DENIS.—CONTEMPLATED MARRIAGE OF THE DUC DE CHARTRES TO MADEMOISELLE DE BLOIS.—BY WHOM BROUGHT ABOUT.—VIOLENCE OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.—MARRIAGE OF HER DAUGHTER TO THE DUKE OF LORRAINE.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS CONFESSOR, DU TREVOUX.—DEATH OF THE DUKE.—ITS IMMEDIATE CAUSE.—ANECDOTE OF THE DUCHESS DE LA FERTE AND THE DUCHESS DE CHATILLON.—CONDUCT OF THE KING ON HIS BROTHER'S DEATH.—HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.—HER CORRESPONDENCE.—MADAME DE MAINTENON'S REVENGE UPON HER.—MARRIAGE OF MADEMOISELLE D'ORLEANS TO THE DUC DE BERRI.—DEATH OF LOUIS XIV.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS AND MADAME DE MAINTENON.—DEATH OF THE FORMER.

Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria was born at Heidelberg, July 7, 1652. Her father, elector of the Palatine branch of

Simmern, had married a princess of Hesse-Cassel, with whom he lived on very bad terms, and at last he repudiated her, and sent her home to her brother, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. At this period, the courts of Germany exhibited a coarseness of manner almost amounting to brutality. Libertine indulgences were openly practiced, without creating scandal, and without exciting any apparent consciousness of guilt or shame. Her father paraded his mistress in the court from which he had expelled his wife; but feeling that the presence of his child was a reproach on his conduct, he sent Charlotte, at an early age, to her aunt, the electress of Hanover,* with whom the princess continued to reside until her marriage. In the court of Hanover, the graces were not cultivated; little or no attention was paid to the education of the princess, and she acquired masculine habits of thought and action, by which she continued to be distinguished through life. "I never," says she, "was taught French manners, and, since my marriage, I have not learned to adopt them; for I have always deemed it an honor to be a German woman, and to adhere to the maxims of my country, although they are very unlikely to insure success in Paris. In my childhood, I loved swords and muskets better than dolls; I was excessively anxious to be a boy, and this whim nearly cost me my life. Being told that Mary Germaine had transformed herself into a boy by force of jumping, I made such terrific leaps, that it was a hundred times a miracle that I did not break my neck."

In her Memoirs, she adds another characteristic incident of her childhood. "I remember the birth of the King of England,† as if it had only happened this day. As I was known to have great curiosity, and to be fond of frolic, they placed a doll in a bush of rosemary, which, they told me, was the child of which my aunt was about to be the mother. At the same instant, I heard the cries of the electress, whose pains were coming on: this was not very consistent with the story of the doll in the rosemary bush; I, however, feigned to believe them; but I stole into my aunt's chamber, as if I had been playing at hide and seek with my com-

* Sophia of Bavaria, the paternal aunt of the princess, was married in 1658 to the Elector of Hanover. She was the granddaughter of James I., and the only one of the family who adhered to the Protestant religion. For this reason she was named first heir to the throne of England, in the Act of Succession, passed in March, 1707.

† George Louis, Duke of Brunswick and Elector of Hanover; born May 28, 1660, and proclaimed King of England August 12, 1714, under the title of George I.

panions, and hid myself behind a large screen which was placed between the door and the fireplace. When they came to wash the new-born infant before the fire, I ventured out of my hiding-place. I ought to have been soundly whipped, but in consequence of the happy event, I was let off with a scolding."

Another of these reminiscences is very characteristic of the brutality of manners then prevalent in the minor courts of Germany. "The monks of the convent d'Ibourg, to be revenged upon me for my unconsciously betraying them to the abbot, by saying that they had fished in a pond under my window, contrary to his orders, gave me white wine at dinner instead of water. I said, 'I cannot tell what is the matter with this water; the more I mix of it with my wine the stronger it becomes.' The monks replied, 'It is because our wines are very strong.' After rising from table, I wished to walk in the garden, but, had I not been held up, I should have fallen into the pond. I threw myself on the ground, and at once fell asleep. They carried me to my room, and put me to bed. I did not wake until nine o'clock in the evening, and I then remembered what had occurred. It was Holy Thursday. I complained of the conduct of the monks to the abbot, who sent them to prison. Often and often have I been quizzed about that Holy Thursday."

Another anecdote from Madame's entertaining gossip introduces names familiar to readers of English history. "My aunt, our dear electress,* being at the Hague, did not go to visit the princess royal,† but the Queen of Bohemia‡ went, and took me with her. Before I set out, my aunt said to me, 'Lizzy, take care not to go on in your usual way; do not run so wild as to lose yourself; follow the queen exactly, and do not keep her waiting.' I replied, 'O, dear aunt! I will behave myself admirably.' When we reached the residence of the princess-royal, whom I did not know personally, I found the prince there, with whom I had

* Sophia, Electress of Hanover. See a previous note.

† Maria Henrietta Stuart, daughter of Charles I. of England and of Henrietta Maria of France. She was married in 1650 to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange: she lost her husband soon after, and gave birth to a posthumous child, William Henry of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who subsequently became Stadtholder of Holland, and was raised to the throne of England by the revolution of 1688. At the time to which the anecdote relates, the electress was guardian to William.

‡ Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I., King of England, widow of Frederick V., Duke of Bavaria, Count-palatine of the Rhine, and for a few unhappy years nominally King of Bohemia. She was the mother of the Electress of Hanover.

played very often. After having looked at a lady for a long time, I turned round to see if there was anybody who could tell me who she was. Seeing only the Prince of Orange, I addressed him in these words, 'Tell me, I pray you, who is the lady with such a horrible nose?' He answered with a smile, 'It is the princess-royal, my mother.' I was quite stupefied. To restore my composure, Mademoiselle Hyde* took the prince and me into the princess's bedchamber, where we romped and played at all sorts of games. I had requested that we should be called when the queen was about to return. We were rolling about on a Turkey carpet when I was summoned. I rose precipitately, and ran into the saloon. The queen was already in the antechamber. Without losing an instant, I seized the princess-royal by the robe, made her a hasty courtesy, and stepping before her, followed the queen to her carriage. Everybody laughed, but I did not know why. When we came home, the queen went to my aunt, and sitting down on her bed, burst into fits of laughter, saying, 'Lizzy has made a fine day's work of it.' She then told her what had happened, which made the electress laugh still more than the queen. She called me, and said, 'Lizzy, you have done well; you have properly punished the princess's pride.' "

We must next allow the lady to give her own account of two abortive courtships. "My brother† wished to marry me to the Margrave of Dourlach,‡ but I had no affection for him, because he was conceited, which I could not endure. He knew very well that I had not been forced to renounce him, for he got a wife long before there was any thought of my marriage with Monsieur. Still, he sent as his envoy a doctor of laws from Dourlach, to ask me if he should obey his father, and marry the Princess of Holstein. I answered that he could not do better than obey his father; that he was under no promise to me, and that I was equally free from obligation to him; but that I felt myself obliged by his communication. This was all that passed between us.

"Once they wished to give me to the Duke of Courland.§ It

* Daughter of the first Earl of Clarendon.

† The last of the princes palatine of the House of Simmern.

‡ Frederic Margrave of Baden-Dourlach. He was born in 1648, and, in 1670, married Augusta Maria, daughter of the Duke of Holstein Gottorp.

§ Frederic Casimir, Duke of Courland, was born in 1650. His first wife was Sophia Amelia, daughter of the Duke of Nassau Siegen, whom he married in 1665, and lost in 1688. He did not long remain a widower, taking, for his second wife, Elizabeth Sophia, daughter of Frederic William, Elector of Brandenbourg, a title subsequently merged in that of King of Prussia.

was my aunt, of Hervord, who desired this marriage. He was in love with Marianne,* daughter of Duke Ulric of Wurtemberg; but his father and mother were averse from the match, because they had fixed their eyes upon me. But when he returned from France and paid us a visit on his way home, I produced such an impression upon him that he would not listen to any mention of marriage, and asked permission immediately to join the army."

Madame does not attempt to conceal the cause of this unfavorable impression. She candidly tells us, "I must be very ugly: I have no features, small eyes, a snub nose, long and flat lips—poor elements wherewith to compound a physiognomy. I have large pendant cheeks, and a broad face. My stature is short, and my person large; both my body and legs are short; altogether, I am a fright. If I had not a good heart, I should be insupportable. It would be necessary to examine my eyes with a microscope to discover whether they announce intelligence; otherwise, it is impossible to form any judgment of them. It would probably be impossible to find on earth more hideous hands than mine. The king (Louis XIV.) often remarked them, and made me laugh heartily; for, not being able to flatter myself conscientiously with the possession of a single pretty feature, I adopted the resolution of being the first to laugh at my own ugliness: the plan succeeded very well, and it must be confessed that I found abundant materials for mirth."

It was the policy of Louis XIV. to secure chances of succession to European crowns for the junior branches of the House of Bourbon. This was the object sought by his own marriage with a Spanish princess, and by Monsieur's first union with a sister of the King of England. The same policy dictated the choice of the Princess Charlotte Elizabeth as the second wife of Monsieur: it was likely to open a way for the extension of French interests and influence in Germany. It was known that the brother of the princess was of a very feeble constitution; and, in fact, he died very young; France thus, in right of Madame, acquired important claims on Bavaria and the Palatinate.†

The negotiations for the marriage were intrusted to the princess-palatine,‡ who seems to have taken little care of Charlotte Eliza-

* This lady, born in 1653, died in 1698, in the Ursuline Convent of Lyons, without having contracted any alliance.

† In the collection *Des Mémoires et Négociations pour la Paix de Ryswick*, will be found abundant proofs that the French negotiators did not allow these claims to lie dormant.

‡ Anne de Gonzague, who acted so conspicuous a part in the wars of the Fronde.

beth's pecuniary interests when arranging the stipulations of the contract. So soon as the preliminaries were completed, she conducted the future Madame to Metz, where she was to make a formal abjuration of the Lutheran faith. No one can tell the process of conversion better than Madame herself. "On our arrival in France, three bishops were sent to confer with me on religion. They all three differed in their creeds. I took the essence of their opinions, and made a religion for myself."* As she arrived in France when the Jansenist controversy raged most fiercely, it is no wonder that she found great differences of opinion among her episcopal instructors; the task of extracting the essence of their dogmas did not require any great length of time. On the very day of the conference the princess abjured Lutheranism, made her confession, and went through the ceremony of marriage, Marshal Duplessis acting as proxy for Monsieur. "Many people thought," says Mademoiselle,† "that she got through a great deal of business in one day."

When Madame first appeared at the French court, she was shy, timid, and awkward. "On my arrival at Saint Germains," she informs us, "I seemed as if I had fallen from the clouds. The princess-palatine returned to Paris so soon as she had planted me there. I put as good a face on the matter as I could, but I saw clearly that I did not please my husband; and, in truth, I was not surprised at this, on account of my ugliness. However, I resolved to live on good terms with Monsieur, in order that my attentions might habituate him to me, and that at length he might find me endurable; which was the result in the end. Soon after my arrival, the king visited me in the new château,‡ where Monsieur and I lodged: he brought the dauphin to visit me; he was then a child about ten years old. When I had made my toilette, the king returned to the old château.§ He received me in the guard-room, and conducted me to the queen, whispering in my ear, 'Keep up your spirits, Madame; she is more likely to be afraid of you than you of her.' The king had so much pity for my position, that he did not wish to leave me; he sat down next

* In one of her letters she says: "I go through all the external forms of worship; I accompany the king every week to mass, but I do not the less derive edification from the perusal of Lutheran books of devotion."

† Mademoiselle de Montpensier. A very good translation of her amusing Memoirs has been recently published.

‡ It stood in the park of St. Germains, and was taken down in the reign of Louis XV.

§ Since converted into a military prison.

me, and every time I ought to rise, that is, whenever a duke or prince came into the room, he gave me a slight push in the side without being perceived."

Notwithstanding her want of personal attractions, she became a favorite with Louis XIV. "The king," says Mademoiselle de Montpensier, "thinks her superior in shape to the first Madame."* Madame de Sévigné adds: "The king exhibits an earnestness in his efforts to please Madame, such as he does not manifest to any other person."† This attachment was founded on the strong common sense that distinguished her conversation, and on the German frankness of her manners, that gave her tone and style a piquant originality, which must have been a relief to the monarch, wearied by the eternal sameness enjoined by the etiquette of his court.

We have already spoken of Monsieur. A second marriage made no change in his perverted tastes. It was chiefly to avoid the company of his worthless favorites that Madame sought a life of solitude and seclusion, where she could gratify her German predilections without interruption. Of these tastes she gives the following lively description: "It is not my fashion to stay in bed; I must get up as soon as I wake. I take neither chocolate, tea, nor coffee, not being able to endure those foreign drugs. I adhere to our German habits, and find nothing good in eating or drinking which is not conformable to those usages. I eat no soup but that which is made of milk, beer, or wine. I cannot endure *bouillon*. Whenever I partake of a dish of which it is an ingredient, I am attacked with colic; when I eat it by itself I become so sick as to throw up blood. Ham and sausages are the only things that can settle my stomach." Connubial happiness she did not expect: her chief hope was that she and Monsieur might live together on terms of mutual forbearance. When, after the birth of her second child,‡ he proposed that they should, for the future, occupy separate apartments, she at once consented; only stipulating, that this

* The unfortunate Henrietta of England. Madame, apparently on the authority of Louis XIV., says of her predecessor: "I was told that the first Madame was not what could be called a regular beauty, but that she had so much grace that everything became her."

† Lettres de Madame de Sévigné, vol. v. In these letters it is insinuated that Madame was in love with the king; but there seems no ground for such an imputation.

‡ Elizabeth Charlotte of Orleans, born in 1676. The eldest child was Philip, afterwards Duke of Orleans and Regent, born in 1674. Monsieur and Madame had no other offspring.

separation should not interrupt their friendship.* Her severe dignity of manner imposed silence on one of the most scandalous tongues of the court. Madame de Fiennes,† with some wit, but more malice, had a tongue that spared no one in the court but the Duchess of Orleans. Madame herself tells how she caused such an exception to be made in her favor. "Observing that this lady showed no more respect for the king or Monsieur than for anybody else, I took her one day by the hand, and leading her aside into a corner, said, 'Madame, you are amiable; you have great wit; but you have a manner of talking which the king and Monsieur tolerate because they are accustomed to it; I, who am only just arrived, have no such motive for endurance. I get vexed when I am jeered, and therefore I beg to give you a few words of advice. If you let me alone, we shall get on very well together; if, however, you treat me as you do others, I shall not say a word to you; but I will make my complaint to your husband, and if he do not correct you, I will discharge him at once.' He was my esquire in ordinary. She promised obedience, and strictly kept her word. Monsieur often asked, 'How does it happen that Madame de Fiennes never says anything malicious about you?' I used to answer, 'It is because she loves me.' I did not care to tell him what I had done, for it might have caused a quarrel between us."

One of Madame's chief sources of vexation was, that her husband would not allow of her interference with any of her own household. He insisted on her retaining his favorites, particularly Madame de Grancey,‡ the mistress of his beloved Chevalier

* She adds: "It was very unpleasant to sleep with Monsieur. He could not bear that any one should touch him during his slumbers: consequently, I had to sleep at the very edge of the bed, whence I often tumbled out on the ground like a sack. I was therefore enchanted when Monsieur, in all friendship and without a quarrel, proposed that we should have separate rooms."

† Known to the scandalous chronicles as Mademoiselle de Fruges. She was decidedly aged at the time of her marriage with the Count Deschapelles, first esquire of Madame. Pride induced her to take the name of her House instead of that of her husband.

‡ Though unmarried, she was called Madame, because she had been mistress of the robes to Maria Louisa of Orleans, Queen of Spain. "She had been extremely fashionable," says St. Simon, "and much addicted to gallantry; and had long governed the Palais Royal, under the barren title of mistress of Monsieur; but she really governed, by the absolute power she could always have over the Chevalier de Lorraine." Madame takes a malicious pleasure in recording that La Grancey became very ugly in her old age, and that she bewailed having lost the power of enjoying her

de Lorraine. This lady had such authority that no one received an appointment in the household, who had not first purchased her patronage by a large bribe. Her irregularities caused many scandalous and some amusing scenes in Monsieur's court at the Palais Royal. One of these is described by Madame, and we insert so much of the anecdote as would be endurable to English delicacy.

"One evening, the whim took La Grancey of hiding herself in the recess of one of Madame de Bouillon's windows, who, not suspecting that she was overheard, began to talk freely with the Marchioness d'Alluye* about the profligate life of La Grancey, on which, indeed, there was not much eulogium to bestow. She described, in coarse terms, the lady's conduct to poor Courtade, and other such matters. Suddenly, La Grancey rushed into the middle of the room, and began to abuse Madame de Bouillon like a fishwoman. The latter, who was not dumb, replied sharply; and some fine stories were interchanged. Madame de Bouillon then went to complain of La Grancey, first, for having listened, and, secondly, for having insulted her in her own apartments. Monsieur scolded La Grancey, declaring that the dispute was owing to her indiscretion, and that she must be reconciled to her adversary. La Grancey said, 'How can I be reconciled to Madame de Bouillon after all the scandals she has spoken of me?' Then, pausing a little, she added, 'Yes, I can; for she never said that I was ugly.'† They then embraced, and peace was established."

On her establishment in France as Duchess of Orleans, although a great heiress, and wife of the richest subject in the state, Madame's whole allowance was one hundred louis d'or, which was generously increased to two hundred, when her large portion was paid on her mother's death. After some time her husband gave her a pension of a thousand, to which Louis XIV. added as much more, until, upon her differing with him respecting her son's marriage, he withdrew the allowance—a poor spite, which few private gentlemen would think of imitating. But the miserable amount of Madame's allowance was owing, not so much to any

usual pleasures. When dying, she is said to have exclaimed, "O God, must I die—I, who through life never thought of death?"

* Ninon de Fouilloux, Marchioness d'Alluye. She was compromised in the poisonings of 1680, and had to fly from France with the Countess de Soissons.

† The credit of this jest has been erroneously given to Sir Robert Walpole.

want of liberality in the king, as to her own German pride, which prevented her from stooping to ask a favor, and to her incessant quarrels with Madame de Maintenon, who ruled the king with absolute sway during the last thirty-five years of his life.

There could hardly have been found in the world two women more directly opposed in their characters, habits, and antecedents of life than the haughty Princess of Bavaria, full of German ancestral pride, and the widow of the buffoon Scarron. Everything was in contrast between these two personages—rank and advantages, spirit and complexion, position and rules of conduct, prejudices and habits. We have seen the account the princess gives of her education—a course of instruction which prevented her from acquiring delicacy, politeness, or flexibility; which rendered her frank even to rudeness, and candid almost to vulgarity, in the utterance of her opinions. Estimating dignity by heraldry, she could hardly endure the presence of those whose illustrious descent was not proved by their numerous quarterings, and was ready to resent every violation of German etiquette as the greatest of crimes.* On the other hand, Madame de Maintenon was

* She herself records a very amusing instance of her strictness on points of family, and the etiquette of pedigree: "The old hag (Madame de Maintenon) brought two girls from Strasbourg, and passed them off as palatine-countesses; she had placed them as attendants on her nieces. I did not know a word of the matter; but Madame the dauphiness (also a German princess) told me of it with tears in her eyes. I said, 'Do not be uneasy; when I have right on my side, I know how to deal with the old witch (Maintenon).' Having seen from my windows one of the nieces walking with the German girls, I went into the garden, and took care to meet them. I called one of the girls, and asked her who she was. She told me to my face that she was a countess of the Lutzelstein family. 'By the left hand?' 'No,' she replied, 'I am no bastard; the young count-palatine married my mother, who is of the House of Gehlen.' 'In that case,' said I, 'you cannot be a countess-palatine; with persons of that rank, a misalliance counts for nothing. I will tell you more: you are a liar when you say that the count-palatine married your mother. I know who her real husband is: he is a musician. If you again attempt to pass yourself off as a countess-palatine, I will expose you; but if you follow my advice, and take your real name, I will never reproach you—so make your choice." The girl took this so much to heart, that she died a few days after. The second was sent to a boarding-house in Paris: she became as great a profligate as her mother; but, as she changed her name, I allowed her to take her course. When I informed the dauphiness of what had occurred, she expressed her satisfaction, and confessed that she wanted courage for such a proceeding. She thought the king would scold me, but he never once said a word on the subject; only he sometimes jocularly observed, 'One risks one's life by jesting with you on pedigree.' I answered, 'Sire, I cannot endure lies.'"—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

trained to suppleness, flexibility, and hypocrisy, almost from her cradle. She was a model of complaisance, because for many years she had traded on it for her means of existence. Married by Scarron as an act of charity, because the comedian could not otherwise offer her the aid of which she stood in need, his death left her in such a state of distress, that she was about to take a very inferior situation in the train of the Princess de Nemours, who had married into the House of Braganza, when Madame de Montespan offered her the situation of governess to the numerous family of natural children she had by the king. To the countless memoirs of the reign of Louis XIV. we must refer for the history of the intrigues by which the widow of Scarron, dignified as Madame de Maintenon, alienated the king from his mistress, and even Montespan's children from their mother.*

Madame's chief friend was the first dauphiness,† like herself a

* The adventures of Madame de Maintenon were so long the theme of scandal to France, and wonder to Europe, that we must give a brief summary of her early history: She was the daughter of Constant d'Aubigné, Baron of Lurinau, and was born in the prison of Niort, in Poitou, November 27, 1635. Her parents, who had been confined on a charge of heresy, were liberated in 1639, and immediately sailed for America. During the voyage, Mademoiselle was so sick, that a sailor, believing her to be dead, was about to cast her body into the sea, when her mother interfered and detected some signs of life. Shortly after, the vessel was taken by an Algerian pirate, and it was not until 1641 that the family assembled in America. Constant d'Aubigné died in 1646, leaving his wife and children in great indigence: the widow could only obtain money to return to Europe by leaving her daughter in pledge with her creditors. At length, Mademoiselle was sent to France, where she was received by her aunt, Madame de Villette, who educated her as a Protestant. An order of the count transferred the child to the care of Madame de Neuillan, a bigoted Catholic, who employed Mademoiselle in the most servile occupations, under the pretence that she was secretly a heretic, though she had openly adopted Catholicism. Scarron, who frequently visited Madame de Neuillan, took pity on the young lady, and, more through compassion than love, offered her his hand, which was accepted. During his life, the saloons of Madame Scarron were the rendezvous of all the wits, artists, men of letters, and amateurs of Paris. His death left her destitute; she became a devotee, and chose for her spiritual director the Abbé Gobelin, who had been changed from a captain of cavalry into a doctor of the Sorbonne, and who claimed from his penitents the same submission which he had formerly required from his soldiers. It was chiefly by his means that she became governess to the children of Madame de Montespan and Louis XIV. The king, it is well known, loved his illegitimate children far more than his lawful issue, and it was the fond cares lavished on them by Madame de Maintenon that first recommended her to the royal notice and favor.—*Mémoires de Choisi.*

† Maria-Anna-Christina-Victoria, Princess of Bavaria.

princess of Bavaria, who was married to the Dauphin of France, March 3, 1680.* This princess was disposed to be an affectionate wife, but she had a faithless and brutal husband. His conduct to Maria Louisa of Orleans, which we have already described, proves his utter heartlessness, and his treatment of a faithful wife attests that he inherited the vices, without the talents, of his father. It was natural that the dauphiness, arriving as a stranger at the French court, should seek the friendship of Madame, her near relation and countrywoman; but by so doing she provoked the enmity of Maintenon, whose creatures were employed to engage the dauphin in intrigues with the ladies of the court. One of these acquired such influence over him, that they interchanged written promises to marry each other, when the husband of one and the wife of the other should be no more. Fortunately, the king discovered the secret, and conjecturing to what such a contract might lead, in days when "the powder of succession" was used very freely, he exiled the countess to Gascony.† These amours were not concealed; the dauphin took a malicious pleasure in insulting his princess, and turning her into ridicule before the entire court. An injury the poor lady received during her confinement, cut short her unhappy days, but there were persons, who said that her death was hastened by a pair of gloves prepared with poisoned perfumes, which were presented to her by the Princess of Conti.‡ This, however, is a very improbable circumstance: the illness of the dauphiness was of long standing, and she had frequently complained of pain, but was told that she was hypochondriacal. A few hours before her death, she said to

* It was in this year that Madame de Maintenon acquired her fatal ascendency over Louis XIV.: hence it is frequently called "the commencement of the reign of Maintenon," a reign which began by the issue of those decrees against the Hugnenots which led to the *Dragonnades*.

† This intrigue forms the subject of a whimsical and satirical romance, entitled, "The Dauphin's Wolf-Chase; or, his Meeting with the Count de Roure in the Plains of Anel." It is apparently the work of a refugee, and was published at Cologne in 1690.

‡ It was always believed that Clement, her medical attendant, had injured her in her last confinement. The Princess of Conti was strongly accused of having gone to the bedside with powerful odors, which were not perceived when she came back.—*Notes d'un Anonyme sur le Journal de Dangeau.*

Madame says: "La Maintenon had conceived such a hatred of the poor princess, that I firmly believe she commanded Clement (the accoucheur) to treat her badly. What confirms me in this opinion is, that she almost killed the dauphiness by coming near her with perfumed gloves; she pretended that it was I who wore them, which is not true."

Madame, "This day will prove that I was not a fool when I complained of pain."*

Madame tells a strange anecdote in connection with the princess's funeral, which we shall allow her to narrate in her own words: "At the funeral service of the dauphiness, I carried a taper (*nota bene*, with pieces of gold), which I presented to the bishop who sang high mass, and who was sitting in an arm-chair near the altar. The prelate wished to give it to his assistants, who were the priests of the chapel royal; but the monks of St. Denis rushed forward at full speed, declaring that the taper and the pieces of gold were their perquisite. They threw themselves on the bishop, whose chair began to totter, and whose mitre was knocked off his head. If I had stopped a moment longer, the bishop and all the monks would have tumbled over me; so I descended the four steps of the altar with all speed, for I was still a nimble body, and looked on at the battle, which appeared to me so comic that I could not avoid laughing; indeed, all who were present did the same."

Madame appears to have been fondly attached to her son and daughter, especially to the Duc de Chartres, afterwards the celebrated Regent Orleans: one of the greatest afflictions of her life was his marriage with Mademoiselle de Blois, a natural daughter of Louis XIV. by Madame de Montespan.† This marriage was the work of Madame de Maintenon, whose chief object during her ascendency was to obtain the rank of princes and princesses of the blood for the king's natural children, but particularly for his children by Madame de Montespan, whose education she had superintended.‡ Already she had married two of the natural daughters to princes of the blood. The only daughter of Madame la Vallière had been united to the Prince of Conti,§ and had been early left a

* The dauphiness died in April, 1690. Louis XIV. wished to see her expire, and said to Bossuet, who advised him to withdraw, "It is proper that I should see how my equals die." Madame adds: "Her end was calm and tranquil; she was as surely murdered as if she had been shot with a pistol."

† "If the shedding of my blood," she says, "could have prevented the marriage of my son, I would have given it freely."

‡ She was continually plaguing the king about the bastards, whom she would have raised higher than he himself desired.—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

§ The Prince of Conti, who died in 1709, had wit, courage, agreeable manners, and amiability, but he had also many bad qualities: he was false, selfish, and prone to amorous vices. Debauchery cost him his life. . . . . The princess was the best of the king's left-handed issue: she was polite

widow. The eldest daughter of the king and Madame de Montespan had been married to the Duke de Bourbon.* These marriages had excited many murmurs in the court, and had been severly censured throughout Europe. The king was aware of this discontent, and but for the urgency of Maintenon, would hardly have contemplated a still more disproportionate marriage, and one beset with painful perplexities. Submissive as Monsieur generally was to his brother, he was known to be peculiarly sensitive on everything that concerned the honor and greatness of his family; while Madame belonged to a nation in which misalliances were viewed with abhorrence, and was besides of a character not easy to be reconciled to such a marriage as was proposed.†

The king employed as his agent M. le Grand, brother of Monsieur's unworthy favorite, the Chevalier de Lorraine. Both brothers were anxious to profit by this opportunity: they stipulated for the Order of the Holy Ghost, and precedents before duties, if the chevalier should procure Monsieur's consent, and devise means of overcoming the expected resistance of Madame and the Duc de Chartres.

Monsieur's consent was easily obtained; the Duc de Chartres was persuaded into acquiescence by his preceptor, the Abbé Dubois, of whom we shall give some account in the next chapter; but Madame, having obtained some knowledge of the intrigue, summoned her son to her presence, and extorted from him a promise that he would never consent. When she found that he had been overcome by means we shall shortly describe in the next chapter, she was so enraged that she would not hear his excuses, but turned him out of doors. Her husband fared little better: she overwhelmed him with reproaches, would not listen to a word

and amiable. The close of her life was given to devotion.—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

* "The duke has sound and noble qualities; but he is reckoned incapable of public affairs, partly from his ignorance, partly from his dislike to application, but chiefly from his impatience. . . . . The duchess is not handsome, but she is graceful and agreeable in her manners; wit and malignity also sparkle in her eyes. I always say that she is like a frolicksome cat, which, whilst she plays with you, lets you feel her claws. . . . . I knew a German gentleman, now dead, who swore to me that Madame the Duchess was not the daughter of the king, but of the Marshal de Noailles. This German's name was Bettendorf; he was an officer in the Guards, and he was on guard at Montespan's house, when the captain of the first company visited the king's mistress."

† *Mémoires de Dangeau et de St. Simon*, vol. i.

in reply, and sent him away overwhelmed with shame and confusion.*

As the proposed marriage was to be announced to the court the same evening, there were serious apprehensions that her rage might cause some unpleasant scene. Saint Simon saw her "promenading the galleries with her favorite confidente, Madame de Château-Thiers.† She walked rapidly, taking large strides, waving the handkerchief she held in her hand, weeping without restraint, speaking loudly, gesticulating violently, and looking for all the world like Ceres when deprived of Proserpine, seeking her furiously and demanding her from Jupiter. Every one out of respect made way for her, and only passed her to enter the saloon."

Her conduct at the royal supper-table was even more outrageous. "The king appeared there as usual. Monsieur de Chartres sat near his mother, who never looked either at him or her husband. Her eyes were filled with tears, which overflowed from time to time, and which she wiped away, looking earnestly at everybody as if anxious to read their thoughts in their countenances. Her son's eyes were also red, and neither of them touched scarcely anything. It was remarked that the king offered madame almost every dish which was set before him, but she refused him with a stern harshness, which, however, had not the effect of repressing the king's kindness and attention towards her.

"It was further remarked that, on leaving the table, and at the close of the circle usually formed in the king's chamber, his majesty made Madame a very marked and a very low bow; during which she wheeled round so nicely on her heel that, when the king raised his head, he saw nothing but her back advanced one step towards the door.

"The next morning the entire court visited Monsieur, Madame, and the Duc de Chartres. They were contented to make their reverences, and the whole passed in silence. The usual levee of the council was held by the king in the gallery after mass: Madame attended. Her son came up to her, as was his custom every day, to kiss her hand. At this moment Madame gave him a slap in the face, so loud that it was heard at the distance of

* Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. i.

† They attempted to take Madame de Château-Thiers from me: the old hag (Maintenon) exerted all her arts and influence for the purpose; but Madame de Château-Thiers remained faithful to me. Though she never told me of these devices, I learned them from other sources.—*Mémoires de Madame, &c.*

several paces, and which, administered in the presence of the whole court, covered the poor prince with confusion, and filled the spectators with amazement."*

Madame was much more satisfied with the marriage of her daughter to the Duke of Lorraine, whom she regarded as almost a German prince. Mademoiselle herself was pleased with the match; for though she was not united to a sovereign prince, like her sisters, the daughters of the first Madame, she felt that she was more than compensated by being enabled to reside in France.

The Duke of Orleans died of apoplexy, June 9, 1701. Madame relates this event very briefly,† and assuredly he was not a husband likely to leave behind him a very disconsolate widow. But as the circumstances of his death were as remarkable as his previous career was the reverse, for anything but profligacy, we shall take the account given by the Duc de Saint Simon, omitting only some superfluous details.

A little before his death, Monsieur had chosen a new confessor, who, though a Jesuit,‡ was very strict both in his religion and morals. He was a Breton gentleman, of good family, and was named Father du Trevoux. He not only forbade unlawful indulgences to the prince, but commanded him to abstain from many permitted pleasures in expiation of his past life. He often told Monsieur that he would not be damned for *him*, and that, if his injunctions appeared too rigid, he would have no objection to make room for another confessor. He added to this, that the prince was old, worn out with debauchery, gross, short-necked; and that, according to all appearance, he would die of apoplexy very soon. These were terrible words to a prince the most voluptuous and the most attached to life that had been seen for a long time; who had passed all his days in the most effeminate luxury, and who was by nature incapable of any application, of any serious reading, or of any sober reflection. He was terribly afraid of the devil;§ and he remembered that his former confessor

* Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. i.—The duke was an eyewitness of these strange scenes.

† Monsieur was taken ill about ten in the evening, but he did not die until the noon of the next day. I can never think of that night without horror. I remained with him from ten at night till five in the morning, when he lost all consciousness.—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

‡ This is St. Simon's expression, but it is hardly just; the Jesuits have generally been as strict in insisting on moral duties, as any of the other orders.

§ The same account is given of Louis XIV.: They had made the king so terribly afraid of hell, that he believed that all who had not been taught

did not wish to die in his office, and that a little before his death he had used the same language as Du Trevoux. The impression made on him induced him to reflect a little, and to live in a manner which for him might be considered strict. He said his prayers occasionally, submitted to his confessor, had long conversations with him, and meditated on his advice. He became sad, downcast, and was less talkative than usual—but still as much so as three or four women together—so that all the world soon perceived this great change. It were strange if this mental exertion had not caused a change in the constitution of one so gross and such a heavy eater, not only at his regular meals but during the entire day.

On Wednesday, the 8th of June, Monsieur dined with the king at Marly, and, as usual, went previously into his cabinet after the ministers had taken their departure. A very warm conversation took place between the two brothers. Louis reproached Monsieur for not prohibiting the infidelities of the Duc de Chartres, whose conduct already made the king suspect that he had sacrificed the happiness of his daughter to her ambition. Monsieur replied that fathers who had led most irregular lives themselves, could not expect to possess much restrictive authority over their children. To this retort Louis could make no reply. Monsieur therefore assumed the offensive, and declared that none of the promises had been fulfilled which had induced him to allow his only son to marry a bastard. The dispute between the two brothers was loud, and their language disgracefully coarse; at last, one of the attendants ventured to hint that they were overheard in the antechamber, and both assumed a more moderate tone.

Dinner was announced. It was observed, as they sat at table, that the king retained his usual passionless aspect; but that Monsieur was feverish and flushed, and that his eyes were bloodshot and sparkling with anger. Nevertheless, he ate very heartily, and from almost every dish on the table.* After dinner, the king and most of the royal family went to visit the ex-king of England, at St. Germains;† Monsieur accompanied them to the gates, and

by the Jesuits would inevitably be damned, and that he would be damned himself if he went near such persons.—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

* Gluttony was the vice in the family. Madame says: "I have seen the king eat (*qy.* at dinner?) four plates of different soups, a whole pheasant, a partridge, a huge plate of salad, mutton with garlick, two good slices of ham, a plate of pastry, and sweetmeats after all."

† This favorite palace of Henry IV. was abandoned by his descendants. It was assigned as a residence to the exiled Stuarts; and a tablet in the

then returned to take his usual supper with the ladies of St. Cloud.* He enjoyed the supper, to all appearance, even more than the dinner. But during the third course, when he was about to pour out a glass of liquor for Madame de Bouillon, he was observed to speak thick, and to make strange gestures with his hand. As he used sometimes to perplex the ladies by talking a few words of Spanish, the nature of the attack was not at first understood, several calling upon him to translate his language. At this instant, he fell senseless into the arms of his son, the Duc de Chartres, and it became obvious to all that he had been struck by a fit of apoplexy.

Monsieur was placed on a sofa, and immediately bled, but without effect; emetics were administered, but they did not operate; expresses were sent to summon medical aid from Paris, and to apprise the king of the dangerous situation of his brother. Louis, remembering the conversation of the morning, suspected that some attempt was about to be made to play upon his feelings—an opinion which Madame de Maintenon supported—and went calmly to bed, after having given orders to be aroused should important intelligence arrive.

A little after midnight, a messenger came from the Duc de Chartres, declaring that Monsieur's case was hopeless, and that he could not possibly live more than a few hours. The king immediately arose; and as the news spread rapidly, "all Marly hurried to St. Cloud. The king arrived about three o'clock in the morning, and found his brother speechless and insensible. In fact, Monsieur had not had any return of consciousness from the moment of the attack. It was thought that he exhibited some glimmering of intelligence when Du Trevoux began to prepare for the celebration of mass; but the gleam was transitory: it appeared and became extinct in the same instant.

"The most awful spectacles," says Saint Simon, "often present ridiculous contrasts." The confessor, Father du Trevoux, came to the bedside and cried, "Monsieur, do you not know your confessor? do you not know the good little Father du Trevoux, who is speaking to you?" These phrases, and the ridiculous voice and gestures of the worthy father, excited the laughter of the less interested spectators.

church of the village records the respect which Louis showed to our unfortunate James II.

* These suppers were, in fact, mere debaucheries, such as Louis XIV. would not have tolerated.

The king remained at St. Cloud, where he heard mass; and then perceiving that his brother's case was hopeless, he returned with the rest of the royal party to Marly. Monsieur died at twelve o'clock in the day. After the king's departure, his room was deserted by the principal officers of his household, and he expired in the presence of valets and scullions. When his decease was known, the principal officers and others who lost posts and pensions by his death, made the air resound with their lamentations; whilst all the women who were at St. Cloud, and who were about to be deprived of their social position and means of enjoyment, ran about shouting, with disheveled hair, like bacchanals.* The Duchess de la Ferté went into Monsieur's room while he yet breathed, and said, "Troth! it's lucky that I got my daughter so well married!"† The Duchess de Châtillon, who feared she was about to lose everything,‡ tartly replied, "Truly, it is a matter of vast importance, at such a time as this, whether your daughter is well or ill married."

Madame was in her own room when her husband breathed his last. On receiving the intelligence, she exclaimed, "No convent! No convent! Let no one speak to me of a convent!" The poor princess, however, had not lost her senses; she knew that by her marriage-contract she was bound to choose between a convent and

* We have already described the worthless character and unmerited influence of these ladies.

† The marriage to which the duchess alludes is thus described by St. Simon: "La Carte, a gentleman of Poitou, very slender and very poor, entered into the service of Monsieur, who formed an attachment for him, and became so taken with him that he advanced him, step by step, to the post of first gentleman of the bed-chamber. Finally, he resolved to get him a wife. The Duchess de la Ferté had an unmarried daughter, who had led a very irregular life, and who was beginning to look rather seedy. She (the duchess) was on good terms with Monsieur, who proposed this marriage to her. She appeared to hesitate; she desired that La Carte should take the livery and arms of her daughter, and the name of the Marquis de la Ferté! This was too great an honor not to be accepted with joy. But the Duc de la Ferté, always on bad terms with his wife and separated from her, not without just cause, was perfectly furious; his family and relations were equally enraged: they formally opposed such a desecration of their name and their heraldic bearings. After scenes of tumult, confusion, and menace, Monsieur quieted everything with money: all consented, and the Duchess de la Ferté gave a splendid entertainment to Monsieur when the marriage was celebrated.

‡ She was mistress of the robes to Madame, who disliked her exceedingly: there was, consequently, every probability that she would be dismissed on the death of Monsieur. She was, however, permitted to retain her place, and finally resigned of her own accord.

a residence at the castle of Montarges, which was her dower.* She wished to avoid either alternative, and, before Monsieur's remains were cold, she had made preparations for an appeal to the compassion of the king.

The very morning after Monsieur's death, when the ladies of the palace went into Madame de Maintenon's antechamber, they heard the king and the lady rehearsing the overture of an opera. Shortly after, the king, seeing the Duchess of Burgundy† very sorrowful in a corner of the room, asked Madame de Maintenon, in a tone of surprise, what could make the duchess so melancholy? He then began to play with her, and summoned the ladies of the court to amuse them both.‡ This was not all: when the royal party broke up from dinner—that is to say, about two o'clock, not six-and-twenty hours after the death of Monsieur—his royal highness the Duke of Burgundy asked the Duc de Montfort if he would like a game of brelan. "Brelan!"§ exclaimed Montfort; "you cannot think of such a thing: Monsieur is not yet cold!"

"Pardon me," replied the prince, "but the king does not wish that any one should feel ennui at Marly. He has commanded me to set everybody down to play; and, for fear no one would venture to be the first, he has ordered me to set the example." A brelan party was then formed, and in a few minutes the saloon was filled with gaming-tables.‖

Madame's success in her appeal to the king was unexpected. We must allow the lady to tell the tale herself: "After Monsieur's death, the king sent to ask me whether I wished to retire —to a convent in Paris, to Maubrusson, or elsewhere? I answered, that, as I had the honor of being connected with the royal family, I could not live anywhere away from the king, and that I wished to go directly to Versailles. This pleased the king: he paid me a visit; but he vexed me a little by saying, that he had asked me whither I wished to retire because he had not supposed

* St. Cloud was not an appanage: it had been purchased by Monsieur from his own resources; and, on his death, it became the property of his son.—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† She was Monsieur's granddaughter, by his first wife, Henrietta of England.

‡ She had always been a great favorite with the king and Madame de Maintenon, who both treated her more as a spoiled child than as a princess.—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

§ A game of cards, somewhat similar to *bouillotte*, which was then very fashionable.

‖ Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. v.

I should like to remain where he was. I replied, I could not guess who could have told his majesty such stories, and that I had greater respect for his majesty than those who had falsely accused me.* The king then ordered the room to be cleared, and we had a long explanation, during which the king reproached me with hating Madame de Maintenon. I confessed that I hated her, but only on his account, and because she misrepresented me to his majesty; nevertheless, I added that, if he wished me to be reconciled to her, I was willing to gratify him. The good lady did not expect this, otherwise she would not have allowed the king to come near me. He immediately summoned old Maintenon, and said, 'Madame wishes to make friends with you.' He made us embrace, and thus terminated the scene."

Thenceforth, Madame's life appears to have been one continued correspondence. Every day in the week seems to have been devoted to writing the most voluminous letters to her relatives in Germany, Italy, England, and Spain.† She sometimes filled as many as fifty sheets in one day. In these, she detailed all the gossip of the Court of Versailles, narrating the most indecent anecdotes, and the most licentious adventures, with a plainness or rather coarseness of expression, such as the most degraded female would not venture to employ, and most certainly would not habitually use. Her frankness in these epistles exposed her, at the time of her reconciliation with Madame de Maintenon, to a scene of mortifying humiliation. The Marquis de Torcy, by some dishonest means, obtained possession of one of Madame's letters to the electress, by whom she had been educated, which he transmitted to Madame de Maintenon, who laid it before the king. In this precious effusion, the royal mistress, or rather wife,‡ was assailed with a hatred amounting to fury. She was called "a hag"—"an old witch"—"a wicked beast"—"an infernal creature"—"a fiend," &c.; and all the crimes that could be committed, murder included, were freely imputed to her, or insinuated

* Viz., Madame de Maintenon.

† Bad as the published collection is—and we know of no volume which contains a greater amount of filth and indecency—the editor declares that there were two letters—one from the duchess herself, and one from the Electress Sophia—so utterly abominable that their publication would be revolting.

‡ There is no doubt that Louis XIV. was privately married to Madame de Maintenon, at the end of the year 1685. The ceremony was performed by Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, in the presence of the Abbé Gobelin, the lady's confessor, the Marquis de Montchevreuil, and Bontemps, the king's first *valet de chambre.—Mémoires de l'Abbé de Choisi.*

in terms as intelligible as they were grossly indelicate. When Madame de Maintenon accused Madame of having libeled her, and assailed her character, the latter protested that she had never blamed her for anything but the share she had taken in forcing the Duc de Chartres into a marriage with Mademoiselle de Blois, and protested that all the rest was calumny and misrepresentation. Madame de Maintenon, with malicious coolness, waited until Madame had quite exhausted herself by these protestations; she then calmly drew the letter from her pocket, and, handing it to the duchess, asked her if she recognized the handwriting? Had a thunderbolt fallen at Madame's feet she could not have been more overwhelmed. In spite of her German pride, she had to stoop so far as to make a most humble apology to the object of her detestation, and even to solicit Madame de Maintenon's interference to obtain her pardon from the king. The triumph of the devout prude over the imperious princess could not have been more complete.*

Louis kept his promise to Madame: he increased her pension, made her large presents, and always invited her to his parties and entertainments. Soon after, she laid claim to a share of her brother's property, which was disputed by his successor in the Palatinate. The question was referred to the arbitration of the pope, who adjudged Madame three hundred thousand crowns as a compensation; but she disputed the decision, and openly accused the Roman court of corruption.†

Madame took a lively interest in the marriage of her granddaughter, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, to the Duc de Berri, grandson of Louis XIV. This prince is said to have displayed some ability in his youth; but, owing to the perverse education he had received from his mother, the dauphiness, and Madame de Maintenon, he grew up shy and stupid. Both treated him like a servant, and yet hardly ever allowed him out of their sight. The marriage was arranged by the king himself, who, being passionately fond of the Duchess of Orleans, his favorite natural child, was anxious to bring her daughter into the legitimate royal family. The Duc de Berri was not very anxious for the marriage; but at first he

* Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. v.

† When the Abbé Tessé had convinced the pope that his ministers had decided without reading the papers, and that they had taken a bribe of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns from the grand duke to pronounce against me, His Holiness began to weep, and said, "Am not I very unhappy, to be obliged to rely on such people?" See what it is to be a pope!—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

seemed satisfied with his father's choice, and even displayed some fondness for his wife. At the end of three months, however, he fell in love with a chambermaid, who was old, swarthy, and deformed. The duchess discovered the intrigue: she sent for her husband, declared that she had no wish to interfere with his pleasures, provided that he did not deprive her of her proper dignity and rights, in which case she protested that she would state the affair to the king, and procure the banishment of the mistress. The duke promised implicit submission, and was faithful to his word during the brief remainder of his life.

Intemperance brought the duke to the grave at the age of twenty-eight. His posthumous child died almost as soon as it was born, and his widow entered on a career of extravagance and dissipation which was long the scandal of France.*

Although the death of Louis XIV. opened to her son the brilliant prospect of a long regency, Madame sincerely lamented the king, in whom she had ever found a friend and protector. Out of respect for his memory, she never resented any of the injuries she had received from Madame de Maintenon, but encouraged her son in heaping kindness on one who had been the great enemy of his house. She even paid a visit of condolence to Maintenon, of which she has given the following description:—

"After the death of the king, I went to St. Cyr to pay a visit to Madame de Maintenon. On my entrance into the room, she said, 'Madame, what can have brought you hither?' I replied, 'I am come to mingle my tears with those of the person that the king, whom I regret so much, loved the most, and that is you, Madame.'

"'Oh, for that matter,' she replied, 'he loved me very much, but he loved you well also.'

"I replied, 'He did me the honor always to preserve some friendship for me, although everything possible was done to make him hate me.' I thus meant to show that I was well acquainted with everything which had happened, but that, like a Christian, I wished to forgive my enemies. If she has any moral feeling,

* Mémoires de Madame, &c.—The Duc de Berri died May 4, 1714. In consequence of the rapid extinction of the princes of the blood, Louis XIV. compelled the Parliament, in the following August, to register a decree legitimating the Duc de Maine and the Count de Toulouse, and declaring them and their descendants capable of succeeding to the throne of France. This edict, as also the last will of Louis XIV., was declared null and void under the regency.

she must suffer a pang at receiving benefits from those whom she hated and persecuted all her life."

Though the regent increased his mother's pension, and granted her a guard of honor, he never consulted her on state affairs; and she, mortified at his refusing to dismiss Dubois, whom she called "the greatest scoundrel and most notorious knave that ever lived," did not trouble him by any further interference. She was engaged in incessant disputes with her eldest granddaughter, the Duchess-dowager of Berri, whom she survived. Her other granddaughters, Mesdemoiselles de Charolais and de Valois, had also frequent quarrels with her on frivolous points of etiquette, and she watched all their movements with the vigilance of a Spanish duenna. The fact is, her original hatred of the mother was extended to the children, and it must be confessed they were not of a character likely to overcome such a prejudice. Her dislike of Madame de Valois was manifested on an important occasion. The Prince of Piedmont sought her hand: Madame immediately wrote to his mother, the Queen of Sicily, with whom she interchanged long letters every week, declaring that honor and friendship compelled her to warn the queen of the kind of person she was about to receive as a daughter-in-law, and she then gave such a character of Mademoiselle as effectually broke off the match.* The only one of her son's offspring whom she ever favored was St. Albin, one of his natural children by an actress, for whom she procured high promotion in the church.†

A little before her death, Madame had the gratification of seeing once more her favorite child, the Duchess of Lorraine, who came to attend the coronation of Louis XV. at Rheims, accompanied by her children. On her return from this ceremony, she learned the death of her faithful friend and adherent, the Maréchale de Clérembault, who died at the age of eighty-nine, retaining her wit and all her faculties to the last.‡ Soon after, Madame was attacked by dropsy. With her usual obstinacy, she derided all the prescriptions of the physicians, and prepared to meet her end with

* Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. xxxiii.—Duclos adds, that the Duchess of Orleans was much enraged at this unwarrantable proceeding, but that the regent laughed at it as "one of his mother's *German freaks*."

† She went in state to hear him support a thesis in the Sorbonne, and publicly lavished on him attentions due only to legitimate children.—*Mémoires de St. Simon*, vol. xxvii.

‡ She was said to have discovered, by some kind of fortune-telling, that she would die shortly before Madame. In the truth of such appeals to futurity Madame believed most firmly.

great dignity and firmness. She died at St. Cloud, December 8, 1722, in the seventy-first year of her age.

Her obsequies, at her own request, were strictly private, but the celebrated Massillon preached her funeral sermon. With singular infelicity, he dwelt most strongly on the sincerity of her renunciation of the Protestant faith, and the strength of her attachment to the Catholic religion. He little knew that she had left proof in her Memoirs that she looked upon both creeds and both churches as matters of absolute indifference.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DUC DE CHARTRES.—HIS INFANCY AND EARLY YOUTH.—ST. LAURENT AND THE ABBE DUBOIS.—INFLUENCE OF THE LATTER OVER HIS PUPIL.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE DUC DE CHARTRES AND LOUIS XIV.—DESCRIPTION OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE WITH MADEMOISELLE DE BLOIS.—PRIDE OF THE YOUNG DUCHESS.—INSTANCES OF HER PRETENSIONS.—THE THREE PRINCESSES AT MARLY.—A SCENE BETWEEN THEM.—HABITS OF THE DUC DE CHARTRES.—BEHAVIOR OF LOUIS XIV. TOWARDS HIM.—THAT MONARCH'S OPINION OF HIM.—FELICITOUS ESTIMATE OF HIS TALENTS.

PHILIP of Orleans, the son of the first Duke of Orleans, and of the princess whose life has been narrated in the preceding chapter, was born August 2, 1674. In his infancy he was so delicate that he could scarcely stand, and at four years of age he had an attack of apoplexy, which produced a weakness of vision that continued through life. The excessive indulgence of his father,* and the rigid severity of his mother, combined in perverting his character; indeed, the company which Monsieur assembled at the Palais Royal was such as would have corrupted a youth of the best natural dispositions. From infancy he displayed the most ardent passion for knowledge of every kind; he was an excellent linguist, a sound historian, a mathematician, and a naturalist; but his favorite pursuit was chemistry, which he

* "Monsieur was too fond of his children even to check them; whenever he had reason to complain of them, he came to me. I used to say, 'Are they not your children as well as mine, Monsieur? why do you not correct them yourself?' He always answered, 'I never knew how to scold, and they are not at all afraid of me.'"—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

pursued with an ardor that exposed him to much obloquy in an age when the study of the natural sciences was identified by the superstitious with the pursuit of magic.* Unfortunately, he was as precocious in sensuality and profligacy as he was in knowledge. Before he had attained the age of sixteen, he had all the experience in vice of a man of sixty. Four noblemen, who had been successively governors to the duke, died within such a short time of each other that some fatality was supposed to belong to the office: with the exception of the last—the Marquis d'Arcy—none of them seemed to have paid much attention to their charge; but the marquis introduced his pupil to military and fashionable life. He accompanied him in his first campaign, and repressed the excess of courage which led the young duke to many acts of temerity at the siege of Mons and the battle of Leuzè.† Under the Marquis, St. Laurent, a gentleman of great merit, acted as preceptor; he introduced the Abbé Dubois as his assistant, and dying soon after, Dubois became his successor.

The origin of this singular man, who subsequently exercised vast influence over the destinies of France and the general politics of Europe, is rather curious. He was born in 1656, and was the son of a petty apothecary in Prives, who employed him as a kind of apprentice and assistant while yet a boy. His repugnance to the medical profession was, however, invincible, and his father sent him to college. He soon became more learned than his teachers; his fame spread abroad; he was invited to become private tutor to the president of the Parliament of Bourdeaux. Though he had assumed the tonsure, he had not taken holy orders; there is, therefore, no improbability in the story that he married a chambermaid, and was in consequence compelled to resign his situation, and to retire, with his wife, into the Limousin. The worthy pair soon became weary of each other; but they parted amicably. Dubois came to seek his fortune in Paris, and entered the College of St. Michel.‡ Thence he passed into the service

* Mémoires de Duclos.

† He was a man of uncommon virtue and capacity, devoid of pedantry, and thoroughly acquainted with the fashionable world: he was a very brave man, without the least ostentation. The education and training of a king might safely have been intrusted to his hands.—*Mémoires de St. Simon*, vol. ii.

‡ My son had an under-governor, St. Laurent, a well-educated man; it was he who introduced this abbé. St. Laurent's intention was to dismiss the abbé when he had taught my son all he knew; and, after lessons, he never left him alone with his pupil. But this brave man could not execute his project; for, being seized with a colic, to my great loss, he died in a few

of a doctor of the Sorbonne, and on his death became secretary to the curate of St. Eustache. The curate introduced him to St. Laurent, who was struck by the abbé's learning, and captivated by his insinuating manners; he offered him the place of assistant-preceptor to the Duc de Chartres, which Dubois eagerly accepted, and he obtained such influence over his pupil that the duke would not receive any other teacher after St. Laurent's death.*

From that moment Dubois devoted himself to stimulating and gratifying the precocious appetites and passions of the young duke. He introduced him into the most profligate society of Paris, and surrounded him with mercenary women, whose orgies surpassed even those in which Monsieur himself had taken part. In spite of his clerical profession, the impiety of Dubois was notorious; he was a skeptic, probably an atheist,† and he succeeded in filling the mind of his pupil with similar principles.

Among the avowed mistresses of the young duke were Florence, a dancer at the Opera, and Desmarets, an actress at the Théatre Français, by both of whom he is said to have had children, though he never recognized them. But he renounced these women, for an intrigue with the Duchess de Bourbon,‡ wife of Louis Duc de Bourbon, one of the princes of the House of Conti. The scandal to which this gave rise provoked the indignation of Louis XIV.; he sent for Dubois, whom he bitterly reproached with the misconduct of his pupil, and whom he would most probably have exiled from court, had not the abbé secured the protection of Madame de Maintenon.

We have already mentioned that it was chiefly through the agency of Dubois that the Duc de Chartres was induced to accept

hours. The abbé offered himself to replace him: no other preceptor was at hand, so the abbé remained with my son, and assumed the tone of an honest man so well that I took him for one: it was not until my son's marriage that I discovered his roguery.—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

* Mémoires de Duclos.

† "Would to God that the Abbé Dubois had as much religion as he has wit! but *he believes in nothing;* he is a knave and a scoundrel; falsehood sparkles in his eyes. He has the air of a fox; that animal, creeping from his hole to steal a pullet, is his exact type."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

‡ "My son is like Madame de Longueville, who almost died of ennui when with her husband in Normandy. Her attendants said to her, 'Good God! Madame, you are dying of ennui; why do you not take some amusement? There are hounds and fine forests: would you like the chase?' 'I detest the chase.' 'Do you wish for needle-work?' 'I hate it.' 'Do you wish for a walk, or a game at cards?' 'I abominate both.' 'What, then, do you like?' 'I do not like *innocent amusements.*'"—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

the hand of Mademoiselle de Blois. Although the abbé had persuaded his disciple that there was no distinction between vice and virtue, yet, as the former had never enjoyed an opportunity of knowing the feelings and prejudices belonging to family and rank, the enterprise proved more difficult than he had anticipated. It was a harder task to overcome the obstinacy of pride than the principles of morality; but it must be confessed this obstinacy was not destitute of a rational foundation. Dubois finally triumphed by terrifying the young duke with a recital of the consequences of the king's displeasure, and by showing that the marriage would give him an augmentation of influence and personal dignity, which would open to him new success in the paths of pleasure.*

Although the Duc de Chartres had promised his mother that he would reject the hand of Mademoiselle de Blois, his resolution gave way when he found himself in the presence of the king, and, most unexpectedly, of his father also. Louis XIV., who could be most affable whenever it served his purpose, received the young duke most graciously: he told him that he was desirous to establish him in life; that the war which had just been kindled rendered it impossible to unite him to any foreign princess of suitable rank; that the princesses of the blood were all objectionable, on account of their age, and that he had therefore chosen for him his own daughter, two of whose sisters had already married princes of the blood; that such a match would give him a double claim on the king, both as a son-in-law and as a nephew; but that he was at liberty to make a free choice, as no restraint would be put upon his inclinations. When Louis had uttered these sentiments in his usual lofty tone, he assumed a graver dignity, and asked for a reply. The young duke, quite overwhelmed, could only stammer forth a few words about the necessity of obtaining the consent of both his parents. "That is very right," said the king; "but your father and mother will not oppose my wishes." Then turning to Monsieur: "Is not that the case, brother?" Monsieur assented; he and the king, having desired that Madame should be summoned, began to chat together on indifferent subjects, affecting not to notice the confusion which too obviously overwhelmed the Duc de Chartres.†

* "My son was only seventeen when he was married. Had they not threatened him with imprisonment in the old castle of Villers-Coterets, and given him hopes that he would see Madame de Bourbon as he pleased, he would never have consented to this accursed marriage."—*Mémoires de Madame, &c.*

† Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. i.

We have already described the impotent rage of Madame, when this marriage was announced. She was not reconciled to it by the splendor with which the betrothal was celebrated, nor by the unusual honors which Louis bestowed upon his daughter. Her household was formed on the same scale as that of a princess of the blood: M. de Villars was her chevalier of honor; the Maréchale de Rochefort her lady of honor; the Countess de Mailly her mistress of the robes; and the Count de Fontaine-Martel her first esquire.*

The marriage was celebrated on Easter-Monday, in the Chapel Royal. The bride and bridegroom, superbly attired, presented themselves in the royal closet a little before noon, and thence proceeded to the chapel, which was arranged as usual for mass, except that two square seats were placed for the bride and bridegroom between the royal *prie-dieu* and the altar. As this arrangement compelled them to turn their backs to the king, it excited some murmurs, but it was too late to make any alteration. Cardinal de Bouillon performed the ceremony, and then celebrated mass. After this, the whole company went to dinner. The table was laid out in the form of a horse-shoe; the princes and princesses of the blood took their places on the right and left, according to their rank; after them came the king's natural children, recently legitimated, and the Duchess de Verneuil, whose deceased husband had been the natural son of Henry IV., and who was thus recognized as a prince of the blood many years after his death.

In the evening, the royal party at Versailles was joined by the ex-king and queen of England. After a splendid supper, the new duchess was led to her chamber by the Queen of England, who gave the bride her night-dress. James II. paid similar attentions to the duke; but there were some who averred that it was unlucky to receive such attentions from a monarch who had been so unfortunate.†

However unwilling the Duc de Chartres may have been to

* Villars was of mean birth, and a professed duellist: he owed his post to Madame de Maintenon. The Maréchale de Rochefort had aided the king in many of his intrigues; but, being a descendant of the noble House of Montmorency, she at first refused any office in the household of an illegitimate princess, and was induced to consent by a promise of a similar post under the dauphiness. The Countess de Mailly was a mere creature of Maintenon. The Count de Fontaine was the best of the whole: he was the brother of the Marquis d'Any, mentioned in a preceding page.—*Mémoires de St. Simon*, vol. i.

† Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. i.

conclude this marriage, he found in his wife a graceful form, lively wit, irreproachable virtue,* and great nobility of character. She entertained, however, a singular illusion on the subject of her birth. She imagined she had conferred on her husband as much honor as she had received. Proud of her position as a king's daughter, she never paid the slightest attention to her mother, the Marchioness de Montespan. Hence the wits of the court often pleasantly compared her to Minerva, who boasted of having sprung from Jupiter, without the intervention of a mother.† But this infatuation did not prevent her from demanding that her brothers and sisters should yield her precedence, which she could only claim in right of her husband. Less sensitive on the subject of her husband's affections than on the external signs of his respect, which gratified her pride, she exhibited anger rather than jealousy when she heard of his repeated infidelities, and nothing could have induced her to make the slightest effort to win him back.‡

The natural talents of the duchess had not been developed by education; she did not possess so much knowledge as would have taught her the extent of her ignorance; hence she early disgusted her husband by a conceited obstinacy, which led her to pronounce dogmatic opinions on matters she was unable to comprehend, and to persevere in those opinions in spite of reason and argument.§

Monsieur, who was extremely rigid on all points of etiquette, was anxious that she should call the other daughters of the king "sister," and that they should name her "Madame." Louis XIV. assented to the propriety of this punctilio, and ordained that it should be observed. The Princess de Conti‖ obeyed the order, but the Duchess de Bourbon¶ took it into her head to call the Duchess de Chartres "child," though nothing could be less childish than her countenance, her figure, and her whole person. The duchess did not regard the jest; but when Monsieur heard of it he was furious, and made a formal complaint on the subject to the king. Louis reproved the Duchess de Bourbon rather sharply,

* Madame, however, accuses her of having shown more favor than she ought to the Chevalier Roye, afterwards Marquis of Rochefoucault.

† In consequence of this pride, her husband used to call her "Madame Lucifer."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

‡ Mémoires de Duclos.

§ Mémoires de Madame, &c.

‖ The king's daughter by La Vallière. She was the most amiable and best beloved of the king's natural daughters.—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

¶ Like the Duchess de Chartres, she was the king's daughter by Montespan.

and she felt more indignation than she deemed it prudent to manifest.

When the court was at Versailles, the three sisters occupied one of the Trianons, and, being all young, they frequently went out to amuse themselves in the park by night. One of their sports was the very unfeminine amusement of firing off petards. In order to be revenged on Monsieur for his tale-bearing, they brought some of the petards under his window, and effectually disturbed his slumbers. A new complaint was made to the king, and a series of disputes arose which embroiled the whole family. Madame de Montespan came to St. Cloud to restore peace; she succeeded for the time, and thenceforth the princesses rarely joined in any pranks together.*

Louis XIV. was always desirous to keep his daughters near him: they were, therefore, compelled to maintain an appearance of devotion, which contrasted strangely with the licentiousness of their manners.† They had large suites of apartments at Versailles, but were poorly accommodated when the court was at Marly—a circumstance which did not improve their tempers; for it was said there was never a visit to Marly without a quarrel.‡ One of these scenes must be noticed, for it is characteristic of the manners of the age.

The Princess of Conti, the daughter of Madame la Vallière, was sometimes jealous of the two duchesses, the daughters of Montespan. To strengthen her party, she paid marked attention to Monseigneur (the first dauphin), who spent every morning and evening in her apartments, when he was not at the chase. Here he became acquainted with La Chouin, one of the princess's maids of honor, to whom he soon became passionately attached. The princess was much annoyed by this intrigue, but she was obliged to dissemble, lest any remonstrance should induce Monseigneur to join the party of the Duchess de Bourbon, who was

* The three sisters do not behave to each other like sisters, having neither friendship for nor confidence in each other. They used as much ceremony when they met, as if they had been perfect strangers.—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† The contrast between the licentiousness and the outward devotion of the courtiers, furnished abundant subjects to the writers of epigrams and lampoons. On a Christmas eve, it was announced that the king would attend a midnight mass. All the ladies, in full dress, hastened to the chapel with lanterns: an exempt of the guard told them that the king had changed his mind, and back they went to their beds. The king, however, came, and was much surprised to find the chapel empty.—*Noëls de Cour.*

‡ Mémoires de Marquis de la Fare.

incessantly laboring to bring him over to her side. Three tables were usually laid at Marly: one for the king and his party; a second for the dauphin and his party; and a third for the courtiers. The two duchesses usually sat at the first; whilst the Princess of Conti, by Monseigneur's special request, generally presided at the second. One day, when the dauphin was at the chase, and the princess, as usual, at the head of his table, the king began to sport with his daughter, the Duchess de Bourbon, and, laying aside his usual grave demeanor, he challenged her to a game of olives.*

This led the duchess to drink several glasses of wine;† the king pretended to drink one or two; the game lasted through the dessert, and only ended when they rose from table. The king, as he passed before the Princess of Conti to go to Madame Maintenon's apartments, offended by her serious looks, said to her dryly, "I suppose your gravity cannot accommodate itself to our tippling." The princess, rather piqued, allowed the king to pass; then turning to Madame de Châtillon—in the moment of confusion, when all were rinsing their mouths—she said, "she would rather be called grave than be a wine-sack," alluding to the rather notorious propensities of the two duchesses. This phrase was overheard by the Duchess de Chartres, who replied, in a pretty loud tone, that she had rather be a sack of wine than a sack of cast-clothes, in allusion to the princess's intrigue with Clermont, who, though a simple officer, had cast off the princess with great coolness.‡ No reply was given to this repartee, which was speedily

* The object of the game is to excite artificial thirst, by getting the players to eat a great number of olives, and so induce them to take a large quantity of wine.

† Madame de Montespan and her eldest daughter could bear a great deal of wine without being drunk: I have seen them drink six bumpers of the strongest Rosolio of Turin; to say nothing of the wine they had taken previously. I thought that they would fall under the table. Not at all: it produced no more effect on them than so much water.—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

‡ The princess had written several letters to Clermont, of the most amatory character. He was anxious to court the favor of Mademoiselle la Chonin, when he saw she had won the affections of the dauphin. To please this lady, he sent her the princess's love-letters, inclosed in an epistle of his own, which turned the princess into the greatest ridicule. The packet was intercepted, and sent to Louis XIV.: he summoned his daughter, and compelled her to read aloud her own effusions, and the comments made on them by Clermont. The officer was banished from court: he believed that his exile was caused by the jealous rage of the princess, and, in

carried from Marly to Paris, and thence through all France. The Duchess de Bourbon, who had much wit, and a talent for writing lampoons, made several stinging songs on the subject. The Princess of Conti was in despair, for she could not retort with the same weapons. Several ineffectual efforts were made to reconcile the ladies; but they could hardly be brought to treat each other with the formalities of ordinary politeness.

Accident enabled the princess to triumph in her turn. The two duchesses, brought closer together by their joint quarrel with the Princess of Conti, proceeded together after supper to the apartments of the Duchess de Chartres. Monseigneur, who had stopped later than usual to finish his game in the saloon, went to visit the princesses before retiring to rest, and found them smoking pipes which they had borrowed from the Swiss guard-house. Monseigneur induced them to desist; but the odor of the tobacco betrayed their secret; the king heard of it in the morning, and rebuked the two duchesses very sharply, to the great delight of the Princess of Conti. At length, these quarrels became so frequent that the king's patience was worn out. He sent for the princesses one evening after supper, and declared that, if he heard anything more of their disputes, he would exile them to their country-seats. The menace had its effect, and tranquillity was restored.*

Marriage did not check the dissipated habits of the Duc de Chartres. His intrigues were multiplied, although his fear of the king induced him to avoid public scandal; but he complained bitterly of this restraint, and often contrasted it with the liberties enjoyed by the English nobility. His intrigue, however, with Mademoiselle de Sery obtained publicity. She was one of Madame's ladies of honor, and was very pretty, very animated, very vain, and not a little proud of her conquest. The duke took no pains to conceal the intrigue, and the lady herself was equally reckless about secrecy.† At length, the birth of a son compelled Madame to signify her knowledge of the connection; she turned Mademoiselle de Sery out of doors, who thenceforth lived avowedly under the duke's protection.

Louis XIV. was very indignant at the open affront offered to

revenge, he gave all possible currency to the whole story.—*Mémoires de St. Simon*, vol. ii.

* Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. ii.

† "My son affects no privacy in his amours: he goes to his mistress with drums beating and colors flying, but without the least gallantry."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

his daughter. He sent for Monsieur, and angrily reproached him with his son's misconduct: the other tartly replied that the king had not fulfilled the promises he had made at the duke's marriage. This angry scene, it will be remembered, preceded only by a couple of hours the fit of apoplexy which caused Monsieur's death.

The Duc de Chartres was fondly attached to his father, and was quite overwhelmed by the suddenness of the attack. When the king came to visit his dying brother, the duke, prostrating himself, embraced his majesty's knees, and said, "Ah! sire, what will become of me? I am about to lose Monsieur, and I know you do not love me." The king, surprised and touched, embraced him tenderly, and protested that he would ever feel the warmest affection for him.

On the following day he was summoned to visit Louis in bed. The king spoke to him with great friendship; told him that he would henceforth regard him as a son; that he would take all possible care of his dignity and his interests; that he forgot all the petty causes of chagrin which he had against him; and hoped the duke, on his part also, would consign them to oblivion; that he trusted these advances would attach the duke to him personally, and lead to a mutual interchange of hearts. The duke made a fitting reply, and affected a satisfaction which he did not feel.*

Besides the natural grief of a son losing his father by a sudden and unexpected death, the duke had other reasons to regret the loss of Monsieur. He had been as a barricade between him and the king, under the shelter of which he had been able to screen his pursuits and indulgences. A brother could remonstrate, where a nephew must be silent. The duke was now brought into direct contact with the king: he was obliged to be assiduous in his attentions, to observe the rigid etiquette of the court, and—what he probably thought worst of all—to adopt a more deferential course of conduct towards his wife, as his respect to her would probably be deemed the measure of his loyalty to the king.

Although the duchess had been well treated by her father-in-law, she could not disguise her pleasure at the death of Monsieur. It removed an obstruction between her and the king, which allowed her husband to treat her as he pleased. It delivered her from

* The duke's fear of Louis XIV. continued unabated during the whole of that monarch's life. He had, however, the courage to ask, and the influence to obtain, from the king, a title for his mistress, Mademoiselle de Sery. She was created Countess of Argenton, and her son was legitimated.—*Mémoires de St. Simon*, vol. ix.

duties which compelled her to leave the court more frequently than she wished, to follow Monsieur to Paris or Saint Cloud, where she found herself surrounded by faces she saw nowhere else, and which rarely looked on her with a friendly expression. But her chief anticipation of pleasure lay in the hope of escaping from her mother-in-law; for Madame, from the very day of her marriage, had never ceased to treat her with contempt and ill-humor.

By the death of his father, the Duc de Chartres became Duke of Orleans, and the richest subject of France. He was thenceforth brought prominently before the public, and had to encounter more merited strictures and more unmerited calumnies than any prince of any other age or country. This was chiefly caused by his open defiance of public opinion. He was ostentatious in the display of his profligacy, debauchery, and impiety; so that Louis XIV. said, "He is as bad as he can well be represented; and, further, he boasts of vices which he does not possess." But his great talents enabled him to control the destinies of Europe. His mother happily said, "The fairies were invited to witness his birth, and each endowed him with a special talent; unfortunately, one fairy was forgotten, who, arriving after the rest, said, 'He shall have all these talents, but he shall want one—the power of making a good use of any.'" His history as Duc de Chartres was a necessary introduction to his career as Duke of Orleans, because it goes far to explain his erratic course as regent.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEATH OF CHARLES II. OF SPAIN.—HIS SUCCESSOR.—CLAIMS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—DEATH OF JAMES II. EX-KING OF ENGLAND.—RECOGNITION OF HIS SON BY LOUIS XIV., AND ITS EFFECT.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS APPOINTED A GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.—HIS OPERATIONS.—THE DUKE DE VENDOME AND LA FEUILLADE.—MARCHIN.—PRINCE EUGENE.— MOVEMENTS OF THE FRENCH AND IMPERIALIST ARMIES.—CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—HE SUPERSEDES THE DUKE OF BERWICK.—THE BATTLE OF ALMANZA.—THE PRINCESS D'URSINS.—INSULT OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS TO HER.—LORD STANHOPE. —HIS OVERTURE TO THE DUKE.—POLITICAL INTRIGUES.—MADAME D'ARGENTON.—MARRIAGE OF THE DUC DE BERRI.—SUCCESSIVE ROYAL DEATHS.— SUSPICIONS AS TO THEIR CAUSE.—PHILOSOPHICAL PURSUITS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—THE YOUNG CLAIRVOYANT.—REPORTS OF POISONINGS.—ESTIMATION OF THE DUKE BY THE PEOPLE.—RESTORATION OF PEACE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

THE eighteenth century opened with an event which at once plunged Europe into all the horrors of war. Charles II. of Spain dying without issue—contrary to general expectation and even his own wishes, but induced by the advice of the pope, and his conviction that such a course would be most beneficial to the country, bequeathed his dominions to Philip Duke of Anjou, grandson of his sister, and of Louis XIV. A council was held at Versailles to determine whether this rich inheritance should be accepted, or whether Louis should adhere to the Treaty of Partition, by which the Spanish dominions were to be shared among the other powers of Southern Europe. After a long discussion, Louis decided upon proclaiming his grandson King of Spain,* and upon resting his claims not only on the late king's testament, but

* Philip V., King of Spain, grandson of Louis XIV., was the second son of the grand dauphin by his first wife, Mary Anne of Bavaria. He was born at Versailles, December 19, 1683, and received the title of Duke of Anjou. On the death of Charles II., the last Spanish King of the Austrian dynasty, he was proclaimed King of Spain, October 2, 1700. He was only seventeen years of age when he made his public entry into Madrid, April 4, 1701.

also on the duke's hereditary right as a descendant of the infanta, the sister of Charles.

All the other powers of Europe had interested and exerted themselves to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain on the head of the same sovereign. It had been made a condition of peace that Louis and Monsieur should solemnly renounce all the claims they derived from their mother, Anne of Austria.* Louis XIV., on his marriage, had for himself and his descendants, renounced all rights that might be derived from his union with the infanta. But the Spanish jurists held that such renunciations were invalid, being opposed to the ancient *fueros* of their monarchy, by which the female right of succession was indisputably recognized. To reconcile the European powers to this aggrandizement of his house, Louis XIV. made the Duke of Anjou publicly and solemnly renounce his right of succession to the throne of France, but at the same time he secretly prepared a document, as a kind of family compact,† by which those rights were declared to be intact and available, in the event of a failure of heirs by the dauphin's elder son.

The Duke of Orleans believed this to be a favorable opportunity of setting up his claim to be included in the line of succession, as grandson of Anne of Austria. He received the order of the Golden Fleece at the same time as the Duc de Berri. He forwarded a protest to the council of Castile against the House of Savoy being placed next to the Duke of Anjou in the line of succession, and this document was solemnly registered in the archives of Spain.‡

A war, which could not long have been averted, was precipitated by the imprudent generosity of Louis XIV. James II., the exiled King of England, died at St. Germains September 16, 1701 ;§ Louis XIV., as he had promised, immediately recognized his son (the old Pretender), who was proclaimed as James III. of England by the royal heralds at Paris. Such an insult was not to be borne: the English ambassador, the Earl of Manchester, quitted Paris without taking his leave, and William III. gave orders that the French envoy should be turned out of London without any ceremony. A grand alliance, offensive and defensive,

* Sister of Philip IV. of Spain, and aunt of Charles II.

† The document is given at full length by Capefigue, in his history of Louis XIV.

‡ Mémoires de Luneville.

§ A mural tablet, in the church of St. Germains, records the friendship which Louis XIV. felt and manifested for the exiled monarch.

was concluded between the Empire, England and Holland, to which most of the minor States of Germany subsequently gave their adhesion.

Louis XIV. was peremptory in his resolution not to employ any of the princes of the blood in this war: the Duke of Orleans, who thirsted for military employment, assuaged his disappointment by plunging deeper than ever into dissipation, but he was compelled, by his fear of the king, to pay more attention to appearances than he had done in the lifetime of his father. On the 14th of August, 1703, the Duchess of Orleans was delivered of a son, who received the title of Duc de Chartres, and on whom the king, unasked, at once settled a pension of one hundred and fifty thousand livres—thus placing him in the rank of the first princes of the blood. The duchess was so elevated by this honor, as to declare that, for the future, she would only visit ladies of the highest title.*

The Duke of Orleans had abandoned all hope of active service, when, on the 22d of May, 1706, he was summoned into the king's closet, and informed that he was to be intrusted with the command of the army in Italy; the Duc de Vendôme† being recalled to take the direction of the army in Flanders, which the Marshal de Villeroy had left in a deplorable state after his defeat at Ramillies. Nothing could exceed the king's kindness to his nephew on this occasion: he consented to every arrangement he proposed, and granted every request he made.‡ He, however, insisted that the duke should in every thing follow the advice of Marshal Villars, who was appointed second in command—a condition to which the prince, who was well aware of that great general's talent, readily consented. Unfortunately, Villars refused to serve under any body, even though it were a prince; and his place was taken by Marchin, who was not fit to command a battalion.

When the Duke of Orleans joined the army, he found it occu-

* Laziness had as much to do with this resolution as pride: "She is so lazy that she will hardly take two steps: she would like larks to fly into her mouth ready roasted. She walks and eats slowly, but she has an enormous appetite. It is not possible to be more indolent than she is: she acknowledges it herself, but makes no attempt to correct her error. She retires early, in order to remain the longer in bed; she never reads, but she compels her ladies to read to her until she falls asleep."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† He was illegitimately descended from Henry IV.

‡ He even created the duke's mistress, Mademoiselle de Sery, Countess of Argenton.

pied in the siege of Turin, which would have fallen long before, had not Marshal la Feuillade, to whom its direction had been intrusted, wasted his time, and exhausted his troops, in chasing the Duke of Savoy through the valleys and mountains of Piedmont, vainly hoping to make him a prisoner. Vendôme had committed faults previous to the duke's arrival, which it was impossible to repair. He had neglected the most common precautions to check the advance of the Austrians, who, under Prince Eugene, were advancing to the relief of Turin. The morning after the news arrived of their having effected the passage of the Po, he quitted the army, and returned to France.

Abandoned by Vendôme, and embarrassed by Marchin, the Duke of Orleans sent home an exact account of the state of affairs, and proposed to his officers that the main body of the army should be sent to guard the fords of the Tarraro, through which alone the Imperialists could advance towards Turin.* Marchin peremptorily refused to adopt this suggestion; he compelled the duke to march all his forces into the entrenchments before Turin, where he became the mere tool of La Feuillade, a general as incapable as himself, but far more obstinate and crafty. The Duke of Orleans receiving daily fresh intelligence of the advance of the Austrians, proposed that, after a sufficient guard had been left in the entrenchments, the main body should march to meet the enemy on favorable ground, and not stay to be attacked at a disadvantage.† Marchin and La Feuillade strongly objected to this proposal; they declared that, if the besieging force were weakened, powder and other succors would be thrown into Turin, and the opportunity of taking the place irretrievably lost. A council of

* St. Simon, whose "Memoirs" are the principal authority for the events related in this chapter, declares, that an intercepted letter from Prince Eugene, stated that, if the fords of the Tarraro were guarded, he would be compelled to abandon Turin to its fate. The letter, of course, was in cipher; there was no key to it in the French camp. It had to be sent to Versailles, and the explanation of its contents did not come back to the camp until the very night before the battle of Turin.

† The lines of the besiegers had been constructed under La Feuillade's directions; and, as he piqued himself on his skill in fortification, he was persuaded that they were impregnable, and that Prince Eugene would not venture to attack them. Anticipating, therefore, the retreat of the Imperialists, and the consequent surrender of Turin, he wished to secure for himself the exclusive merit of having contrived all the operations which led to this result. The inferior officers, and even the private soldiers, saw the folly of this plan, and were so disheartened that several deserted before the Imperial troops came in sight.

war was held, at which words ran so high, that the Duke of Orleans threatened to resign the command, and when outvoted actually ordered his carriage. He was, however, finally prevailed upon to remain, and to superintend the execution of a plan which he foresaw would be destructive.

On the night of the 6th of August, the duke received a note, informing him that Prince Eugene was attacking the Castle of Pianezza, preparatory to fording the Dorea; he immediately went to Marchin, who was asleep in his bed, showed him the note, and proposed that the army should at once march and attack the enemy, which was entangled in perilous fords and difficult defiles. Marchin coolly replied, that Prince Eugene was much farther off than had been reported, and that it would be time enough to deliberate and decide in the morning.

Morning dawned, and showed that the time for deliberation had gone by. The heads of the Austrian columns were seen advancing rapidly to the attack, and the French had barely time to form in order of battle. Passing from the excess of temerity into utter despondency, Marchin was incapable of giving any rational orders or consecutive directions. There were great gaps in the French lines: Albergotti was posted, with forty-five battalions, on the hill of the Capuchins, in a position where he could neither annoy the Imperialists, nor aid the main body of the French. The duke sent him orders to abandon the hill, and march into the lines, but Albergotti had been previously commanded by La Feuillade to retain his position, and he refused to stir.

Prince Eugene having completed his arrangements, began the attack about two o'clock in the morning. The issue was not doubtful for an instant; the Austrian squadrons and battalions, pouring through the gaps in the French lines, attacked their enemies at once in front and flank. Marchin was severely wounded and made prisoner;* La Feuillade, from the moment that the lines were forced, lost all presence of mind, and ran about tearing his hair like a madman. The Duke of Orleans, though twice wounded, rallied some battalions to cover the retreat, and brought off with him the light artillery and the ammunition wagons. At a council of war, hastily summoned, he proposed that, instead of retreating to France, they should push direct for Italy, and, by occupying the passes, inclose the Imperialists in a poor and exhausted country,

* Marchin died during the night. The only anxiety he expressed was for the safety of the Duke of Orleans; and the only regret, sorrow for having neglected his advice.

where their numbers must soon melt away. This bold and judicious advice was most unpalatable to the French generals, who had amassed large sums from the plunder of Piedmont, and were anxious to retreat into France for the purpose of securing their treasures; but as it was impossible to assign such a motive, they were forced to obey, though with manifest reluctance. Exhausted by his wounds, and by multiplied vexations, the prince lay almost helpless in his carriage, until the army reached the bridge over the Po. Here an officer was introduced, who said that the passes had been secured by the Austrians and Piedmontese, under the command of the Duke of Savoy. Though this intelligence was false, it furnished a pretext to the discontented generals for demanding that the line of retreat should be changed. Those who were intrusted with the charge of the munitions and provisions, took their route towards the French Alps. Thus the plan proposed by the duke was no longer practicable, and he found it necessary to alter his march and retire on Pigneul.

This change in the line of retreat caused some confusion: several pieces of artillery, tumbrels, and baggage wagons were abandoned. The Imperialists were too much surprised by their great and unexpected victory to attempt any active pursuit; but the disorder into which the French had fallen entailed as much loss as if they had been chased by an enemy. As they were traversing a road where their presence had not been anticipated, the French soon wanted bread, and it was necessary to halt until a supply could be procured. The Duke of Orleans resolved to profit by this delay, and make himself master of the Castle of Bard,* so as to secure the only practicable pass for keeping open a communica-

* This fortress had nearly frustrated Napoleon's brilliant plans for his Italian campaign of 1800, and rendered his memorable march over the Great St. Bernard worse than useless. "This little citadel," says Sir Walter Scott, "is situated upon an almost perpendicular rock, rising out of the River Dorea, at a place where the Valley of Aosta is rendered so very narrow by the approach of two mountains to each other, that the fort and walled town of Bard entirely close up the entrance. This formidable obstacle threatened for the moment to shut up the French in a valley where their means of subsistence must have been speedily exhausted. General Lannes made a desperate effort to carry the fort by assault; but the advanced guard of the attacking party were destroyed by stones, musketry, and hand-grenades, and the attempt was relinquished." Napoleon carried his artillery in silence, and by night, through the town of Bard under the guns of the fort, the noise of the wheels being deadened by spreading the streets with dung and earth. Had the garrison been aware of the attempt, it would have been utterly impossible to force a passage.

tion with Italy through Ivrea. La Feuillade undertook this duty; but he delayed two days before he started, and then, after a day's march, had to halt on the road, having forgotten to bring with him any bread for his detachment. When he renewed his march, he found that the Austrians had anticipated him by twenty hours, and had employed their time so well in strengthening the castle and fortifying the pass, that it was impossible to dislodge them. La Feuillade, having thus lost everything by his inexplicable delay, was forced to return. The king, the court, and the people of France, rendered ample justice to the Duke of Orleans, but he soon tarnished his fame by yielding to his habits of dissipation. Madame d'Argenton and Madame de Nancrè joined him at Grenoble: a week was spent in scandalous orgies; and the king himself had to write a letter of remonstrance to his nephew, describing the injurious consequences of such indecent revelries.*

After some vain efforts to renew the Italian campaign, the army was dismissed to winter quarters, and the Duke of Orleans returned to Versailles. La Feuillade was disgraced, the king being with difficulty persuaded to grant him a private audience, when he said to him, with the greatest bitterness, "Sir, we are both very unfortunate." He would probably have been more severely treated, but for the powerful protection of his father-in-law, Chamillard, who was not only a favorite minister of the king, but also the chosen friend of Madame de Maintenon.

As a proof of respect for his services in Italy, Louis XIV. appointed his nephew to the chief command of the army in Spain, which had been brought into admirable order by the Duke of Berwick.† When, before his departure, the Duke of Orleans waited on the king, Louis asked him whom he had appointed on his staff? The duke, amongst others, named M. de Fontpertius. "What! my dear nephew," cried Louis, with great emotion, "is it the son of that foolish woman who is eternally running after Arnauld?—a Jansenist! I never can consent to such an appointment." "By my faith, sire," replied the duke, "I do not know what the mother does, but as for the son, he is so far from being a Jansenist, that I do not think he even believes in a God!" "Are you sure of it?" said the king; "if that be the case, there is no harm in him; you may take him with you!"‡

* St. Simon declares that he also remonstrated with the duke, but that the ladies had set out on their return to Paris before either letter arrived.

† He was the natural son of the exiled English monarch, James II., and the only one of the Court of St. Germains whose character was respected.

‡ Madame, who also relates this anecdote, adds: "No one could be more

The Duke of Orleans, who was received everywhere in Spain with royal honors, did not make any delay on the road; he was most anxious to join the army, as it was certain that the advance of the allies would bring on a decisive engagement. In a laudable spirit of self-sacrifice, the Duke of Berwick was anxious to decline a battle, until the Duke of Orleans arrived to take the command. Attributing this delay to timidity, the allies advanced to attack Berwick in his camp, near Almanza, and with equal skill and bravery he prepared to meet them. The battle began at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th of April: it lasted little more than two hours, and ended in the complete route of the allies. They lost four thousand killed, eight thousand prisoners, all their artillery, and one hundred and twenty standards.*

The Duke of Orleans joined the victorious army on the following day. Instead of exhibiting any jealousy of the glory won by the Duke of Berwick, he embraced him, warmly congratulated him on his success, and to the end of his life treated him with the most affectionate respect.

It is probable that the battle of Almanza would have decided the fate, not merely of Spain, but of Portugal, had not the Spaniards exhibited the same negligence and procrastination in supplying the Duke of Orleans with provisions and means of transport, which they displayed towards the Duke of Wellington in more recent times. It was not until the beginning of October, that the duke was enabled to lay siege to Lerida, a strong town, which, next to Barcelona, was regarded as the centre and refuge of the Spaniards of the Austrian faction. Trenches were opened on the night of the 2d; but the Spaniards were so negligent that the duke was compelled personally to superintend even the most minute details, and to act at once as general, mechanist, and

ignorant in matters of religion than the king. I cannot understand how the queen, his mother, allowed him to be brought up in such ignorance. He believed everything that the priest told him, as if it came from God himself. Old Maintenon and Père la Chaise taught him that all the sins he had committed with Montespan would be pardoned and forgiven if he tormented and persecuted the professors of the reformed religion. The poor king firmly believed them, for he never read the Bible. It was then that the persecution commenced. All he knew about religion was what his confessors told him: they led him to believe that it was not lawful to exercise reason on religious matters, and that, to attain heaven, reason should be kept in subjection. Still, he was honest; it was not his fault that all the court became hypocritical; it was old Maintenon that forced every one to be so."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

* Lord Mahon's War of the Spanish Succession, chap. vi.

engineer. Such, however, was his activity, that the town was taken by assault on the 13th, and given up to pillage for twenty-four hours. The citadel held out much longer: it capitulated on the 11th of November, when the allied armies were within two leagues of Lerida; but the Duke of Orleans had taken such precautions, that they could do nothing for its relief. It was now too late to continue the campaign; and the Duke of Orleans was obliged to relinquish the plans he had formed for besieging Tortosa.

Late in December, the Duke of Orleans returned to Versailles, and was received by the king with unusual honors, a circumstance which gave great offence to the other princes of the blood, who did all in their power to lessen his reputation. He found his duchess in mourning for the loss of her mother, Madame de Montespan, whose death, however, produced a very slight sensation in a court over which she had once ruled supreme.*

Before the opening of the next campaign, Louis XIV. recalled the Duke of Berwick, and intrusted the entire direction of the army in Spain to the Duke of Orleans. Philip V., whose interest in Spain had been greatly strengthened by the birth of a son, was much annoyed by this change; he had great confidence in Berwick, and moreover an abundant share of the suspicions with which the Orleans branch of the House of Bourbon was ever regarded by the descendants of Louis XIV.

The Duke of Orleans, on reaching Madrid, found nothing prepared for the campaign: in Spain, there was greater indigence, and still greater negligence. Accordingly, he was compelled to remain longer in the capital than he had intended, which gave his enemies at Versailles an opportunity of asserting that he was detained by an intrigue with the queen. Such a falsehood could have done him no injury, but an imprudent toast provoked enmities which long rendered his life miserable. One evening, he was in company with some French and Spanish officers, who lamented the negligence and procrastination which delayed the opening of

* "The king showed as little regret for Montespan as for Fontanges. The Duc d'Antin, her only legitimate child, was also the only one by whom she was sincerely lamented. When the king legitimated the others their mother was not named."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

Madame de Montespan had *eight* children by Louis XIV., the Duc de Maine, the Count du Vexin, Mademoiselle de Nantes (married to the Duc de Bourbon), Mademoiselle de Tours, Mademoiselle de Blois (married to the Duke of Orleans), the Count de Toulouse, and two other sons, who died young.

the campaign, and attributed it to the influence of the Princess d'Ursins,* who had obtained a complete ascendency over the mind of the queen and the king. Such a subject could not be discussed without provoking some allusions to the similar ascendency of Madame de Maintenon in France. The Duke of Orleans, who shared all his mother's aristocratic prejudices against Scarron's widow, and who had taken more wine than was consistent with prudence, proposed, in coarser terms than we care to record, "Health to the military courtesans, Madame the captain and Madame the lieutenant." Every one understood the allusion, though no one ventured to make a comment on it: the toast was received with loud acclamations, and before night was the common jest of all Madrid.

Madame d'Ursins was deeply stung by the insult, and not without reason. From the time of the duke's arrival at Madrid, she had exerted every means in her power to gratify his wishes and forward his interests. So far from having caused any delay in the military preparations, it was only through her untiring representations and remonstrances that the indolent Philip V. had made any exertions to expedite them. It was therefore natural that she should be deeply mortified on finding that her services had been met by the most stinging insult. She reported the whole to Madame de Maintenon, who was still more deeply offended, and who remembered the insult to the last moment of her life.

The campaign was not opened until June, and even then the Duke of Orleans could never be assured of a fortnight's provisions in advance. Having obtained several advantages over the allies, he laid siege to Tortosa, where he had to encounter even greater difficulties than those which he had experienced before Lerida. The place capitulated on the 11th of July, and its surrender was followed by the capture of several forts in Catalonia, while the Imperialists were forced to abandon the open country, and shut themselves up in an inaccessible camp.

* Anne Marie de la Trémouille, daughter of M. de Noirmostier, was married to the Prince de Chalais, by whose early death she became a young widow. Her second husband was the Duke of Bracciano, whose palace of the Ursina became, under her direction, the rendezvous of all the fashionable world in Rome. On his death, she was compelled to sell his estates to pay his debts, and the purchaser stipulated that she should resign the title of Duchess of Bracciano. She then assumed the title of Princess d'Ursins, by which she is known in history. It is false that she ever was Philip's mistress; she ruled him through the queen, over whom she had established an authority that amounted to despotism.

Stanhope, who commanded the English forces in Spain, had been very dissipated in his youth. During a brief visit to Paris, he had become acquainted with Dubois, and through him had been introduced to the Duke of Orleans, then Duc de Chartres. The young men formed an attachment for each other, sharing together many scenes of gay dissipation, and some of a far worse description. It was therefore natural, when they found themselves opposed to each other as generals in Spain, that they should interchange friendly letters and messages by flags of truce. Stanhope knew that England and Holland were quite weary of their Austrian allies, and that they continued the war solely for the purpose of preventing a union between France and Spain. It was clear that this object might be attained by substituting the Duke of Orleans himself for Philip V., and it was believed that this change would not be unacceptable to the Spaniards, who were weary of Philip's indolence and incapacity, and who bore with impatience the ascendency of the Princess d'Ursins. There is no doubt that the Duke of Orleans made this proposition to Stanhope; and the Duke of Marlborough always believed that he did so at the instigation of Louis XIV. himself, whose resources were exhausted by the war, and who would gladly have availed himself of any feasible means of bringing it to an honorable termination.* Stanhope, on the other hand, proposed a partition of France: he thought that Languedoc and Navarre might be united into a kingdom for the Duke of Orleans, under the protection of the allies. This strange proposition did not put an end to the negotiations, though there is no proof that it was for a moment entertained by the Duke of Orleans. Stanhope, on the other hand, does not appear to have encouraged a hope that the allies would be satisfied with the transfer of the crown from Philip to the duke; but the project found favor with many Spaniards, and some steps had been taken to procure a decisive expression on the subject, when the Duke of Orleans left Madrid, to spend the winter in Versailles.†

These secret intrigues did not escape the notice of the Princess d'Ursins: she had watched them with silent vigilance from the beginning, and soon after the duke's departure from Madrid, she procured the arrest of his confidential agents, Regnault and Flotte. The papers found upon them contained indisputable evi-

* Lord Mahon's History of the War of the Spanish Succession, chapter vii.

† San Phelipe, Commentaries, vol. i., and Dangeau's Memoirs, vol. iii.

dence that plans had been formed to remove Philip from the throne of Spain, and to set up the Duke of Orleans as king. Such a discovery aroused even Philip from his indolence and apathy; he caused all the evidence to be collected and authenticated, and then sent verified copies of the whole to Louis XIV., to his father the dauphin, to his uncles, and to his cousins.

Nothing could exceed the confusion the reception of these documents produced in the Court of France. The dauphin was perfectly furious; and most of the princes of the blood demanded that a criminal process should be issued against the Duke of Orleans, and that he should be tried by his peers. Louis himself treated his nephew with marked dislike, and the countess, following the royal example, shunned him as if he had been a pestilence. Unfortunately, the duke aggravated his difficulties by his characteristic imprudence: at an entertainment he gave to the Elector of Bavaria, at St. Cloud, his mistress, Madame d'Argenton, presided, and did the honors. Louis XIV. was naturally irritated and disgusted by so wanton an insult to his daughter the duchess, but he did not abandon him to the malice of his enemies.* All the duke's friends were convinced that it was necessary for him to separate from Madame d'Argenton, and their reasoning was so powerful that he consented to send her away from Paris, and never see her again. He took care, however, to make most liberal provision for her future security and comfort; but he so far distrusted his firmness as to avoid a farewell interview, and to decline all future correspondence.† This unexpected rupture made a great noise in the fashionable circles: the lady at first seemed disposed to struggle against her fate, but finding that the duke's determination was fixed, she retired to her father's country-seat, leaving her son, the Chevalier d'Orleans, at the Palais Royal. This sacrifice gave great pleasure to the Duchess of Orleans,

* Sismondi asserts, on very probable evidence, that the king would not put the Duke of Orleans on his trial for measures in which he had himself taken part. St. Simon, on the contrary, declares that the king had ordered the chancellor to prepare the act of accusation, and that he (St. Simon) had disconcerted all the arrangements, by showing that the French peers could not take cognizance of an alleged treason against the King of Spain.

† St. Simon says, that the duke burst into a passion of tears at the mere thought of separating from his mistress. Madame, on the other hand, declares, "My son used to assert that there was no such thing as love, and that it existed only in romances. He said that he quarreled with Madame d'Argenton because she wanted him to live with her in pastoral love."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

though she suppressed any outward demonstrations of joy. She took advantage of it, however, to soften the king's anger towards the duke, and as her husband had been prodigal in his attentions to her during a recent confinement, she and Louis probably believed that he had resolved to abandon his evil courses, and, if not to live a strictly moral life, at least to avoid all occasion of public scandal.

Taking advantage of this reconciliation, the duchess applied all her arts to bring about the marriage of her eldest daughter with the Duc de Berri, third son of the dauphin; and she had the skill to render her own preposterous pretensions to precedence subservient to her scheme. The king having decided against her claims, she urged that he was bound, as a compensation, to procure such a match for her daughter as would be an equivalent for the rank of which she was deprived by the royal decision.* This union, destined to reconcile the Orleans family with the heir apparent and the heir presumptive to the crown, was of the greatest importance to the duke; indeed, it was probably the only means by which he could be extricated from the difficulties in which he had been involved by his intrigues for the Spanish crown; but it was necessary to triumph over the repugnance of the dauphin, and over the intrigues of the House of Condé, who wished to secure the hand of the Duc de Berri for Mademoiselle de Bourbon. The Duchess of Orleans won over the powerful support of Madame de Maintenon, by showing her that a union which would increase the power of the House of Condé must tend to weaken her influence in the councils of the king; and this impression was confirmed by the imprudence of the Duchess de Bourbon, who more than once excited the dauphin to manifest open disrespect to the haughty Maintenon.† With these intrigues the duke refused to have any connection: it was with difficulty that he consented to adopt a letter addressed in his name to the king by the Duc de St. Simon, and which, if that prince of gossips may be believed, was the chief cause of the king's eagerly adopting the project of the proposed marriage.

Louis having formed his resolution, sent for the dauphin, and, after a very short preface, informed him of his intentions. He spoke in the tone of a father, who is aware that he is also king

* Dangeau, with greater probability, says that the king was guided in the matter entirely by Madame de Maintenon, and his confessor, Le Tellier.

† "His fear of his father was servile in the extreme; he could never appear in his presence without trembling."—*Mémoires de Dangeau.*

and master, preserving a measured tenderness united to authority which rendered opposition difficult, if not impossible. Monseigneur stammered and hesitated, but finally gave his consent: he asked, however, that the declaration should be delayed for a few days, so as to give him the opportunity of becoming acquainted with his future daughter-in-law.

When the news spread abroad, there was great excitement amongst the courtiers. The Duchess of Bourbon, who believed her influence over the dauphin to be unlimited, was sadly disappointed, and had not the prudence to conceal her mortification.* The formal communication of this marriage to the Court of Madrid so embarrassed the Duke of Orleans, that he consulted Louis on the subject. By his advice, the duke wrote to announce the marriage to the king and queen of Spain, but neither sent him a reply, though both wrote congratulatory letters to the duchess. All the difficulties of etiquette were not yet overcome. At the marriage of duchesses, in the formal court of Louis XIV., it was necessary that the bride should wear a train, which was to be borne by a lady of equal rank; but as the younger daughters of the Duke of Orleans were at Chelles, and were, besides, rather too juvenile to take a share in the ceremony, the office of train-bearer naturally would devolve upon Mademoiselle de Bourbon, who had so long been persuaded that she would be the Duc de Berri's bride herself. This was so painful, that she positively refused to act such a part, and her mother the duchess supported her in the denial. It was proposed to dispense with the train; but the Duke of Orleans, the fondest of fathers, embraced the opportunity of gratifying his younger daughters. He summoned them from Chelles, and they had thus the pleasure of witnessing the pompous spectacle of a royal marriage. The ceremony was performed on the 6th of July, 1710, the bridegroom being twenty-four years old, and the bride fifteen.

* "If the dauphin had been wise, he would have preferred the society of the Princess of Conti to that of Madame the Duchess, because the first, having a good heart, loved him disinterestedly, whilst the other loved nothing in the world but to gratify her taste for pleasure, her interest, and her ambition. Thus, provided she attained her object, she cared little about the dauphin, whose condescension for this princess was a manifest proof of his weakness. . . . . The duchess was very amusing, and had pleasant notions; she was fond of good living, and that was what the dauphin wanted: he found a rich breakfast with her every morning, and a collation every afternoon. The duchess's daughters were of the same character as their mother, so that the dauphin could spend the whole of his day in the society of very agreeable persons."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

Death soon after began his ravages in the family of Louis XIV. On the 9th of April, 1711, as the dauphin was preparing for the chase at Mendon, he was suddenly seized with a fainting fit; the physicians were summoned, but they did not regard his illness as a matter of any consequence. In the course of the following day, symptoms appeared which left no doubt that the disease was small-pox, but they were not of so aggravated a nature as to give any serious disquietude. Late in the evening of the 13th, a crisis came, and the physicians at once saw that the case was hopeless. Expresses were immediately sent to the king at Versailles, and to such branches of the royal family as happened to be in Paris. Louis hastened to Mendon, but the physicians would not allow him to enter the prince's chamber, and he returned late to Versailles, where the melancholy intelligence was not generally known. The news of the prince's death arrived almost as soon as the notice of his danger.*

Although the Duke of Orleans had lived latterly on very bad terms with the dauphin, he was deeply affected by his death; but the duchess could with difficulty conceal her joy at the removal of a prince who was not only the enemy of her husband, but of her legitimated brothers, the children of Montespan.

The title of dauphin was now transferred to the Duke of Burgundy, whose duchess presented him with a third son in the midst of the mourning. The child received the title of Duke of Anjou,† and was destined to be the successor of Louis XIV., and almost the sole survivor of his numerous family. Early in 1712, the beautiful dauphiness was attacked by scarlatina; the disease soon exhibited fatal symptoms, and she died on the 12th of February. Six days after, her husband, who had caught the infection by attending his beloved wife, fell a victim to the same sickness. On the 8th of March, their eldest son, a boy in his sixth year,

* "When I learned that the dauphin's disease was the small-pox, I went to the king: he said to me with a mocking air, 'You threatened us with menacing descriptions of the frightful sufferings Monseigneur would endure after the suppuration; he will not suffer at all; the pustules have already begun to dry up.' I was terrified at this intelligence, and said, 'So much the worse if he does not suffer; his condition is only the more dangerous, and I sincerely wish he was suffering more severely,' 'What!' said the king, 'do you know more than the doctors?' I replied, 'Sire, I know what the small-pox is by my own experience, which is more certain than all the science of doctors; but I hope with all my heart that I may be mistaken.' The dauphin died the same night."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† Vacated by the elevation of the former duke to the throne of Spain. The dauphiness left only two sons, her second having died in infancy.

died suddenly, and the title of dauphin descended to the Duke of Anjou, an infant at the breast, and so sickly that no one expected he could overcome the ordinary diseases of childhood.

France had been decimated by an epidemic and by famine: the multiplied deaths in the royal family, following so close upon each other, afflicted the nation as much as the king: the first dauphin had been the favorite of the middle and lower classes; the second, the pupil of Fenelon and Beauvilliers, had inspired the highest hopes of constitutional improvement into the breasts of the Parliament, weary of a despotism which deprived them of the privilege of complaint. The beautiful dauphiness had been the idol of the king and the court: the son who so soon followed her to the grave had been a remarkably healthy child; the frail baby that survived seemed to have been spared only because death had already marked him for his own. Such circumstances, in an age which had witnessed the crimes and punishment of Brinvilliers and Voyain, and the dubious deaths of Henrietta of England, and her daughter, Maria Louisa, Queen of Spain, naturally gave rise to suspicions, which seemed to be changed into certainties, when it was known that two of the physicians had declared that the dauphin must have been poisoned, for that dissection had not disclosed any natural cause of death.

These suspicions and whispers, at first vague and indefinite, soon assumed the form of direct charges, and were all concentrated around the devoted head of the Duke of Orleans. He reeled under the terrible accusation, and for some time his utter ruin seemed unavoidable. His danger had been greatly aggravated by his own misconduct. For five or six months after his separation from Madame d'Argenton, reason and religion seemed to have resumed their empire over his mind; but this only lasted until the marriage of his daughter with the Duc de Berri; and the restraint he imposed upon himself, was, perhaps, only adopted to secure that event. In a few weeks after the marriage, he plunged more deeply into debauchery and impiety than ever; without, however, publicly taking a mistress, or openly quarrelling with his duchess. He spent much of his time with the Duchess of Berri: the father and the daughter vied with each other in ridiculing the most sacred doctrines and ordinances of religion: they did not abstain from such impious conversation in the presence of the Duc de Berri, though he expressed the greatest horror at such blasphemies, and defended the doctrines of Christianity as well as his limited abilities and information would allow. Such violations of ordinary propriety, added to the extravagant

fondness of the Duke of Orleans for his eldest daughter, and her daring defiance of everything which others held sacred, gave rise to the most horrible imputations. Tales too shocking to be told were whispered about; they reached the ears of the Duc de Berri, and, though he disbelieved such horrors, they did not fail to cause him great uneasiness.

The king was not ignorant of the excesses of his nephew. He had been much shocked by his return to the society of his profligate companions in Paris; and, though he rejected the infamous calumnies which had been circulated against the Duchess of Berri, he was indignant that the petulance, pride, and extravagances of the young lady, who was equally haughty and headstrong, should be defended and protected by her over-fond father. Thus alienated from the king, the Duke of Orleans went rarely to Versailles; he lived in suspicious privacy in the Palais Royal, devoting himself to the study of chemistry, with which he united the more questionable pursuits of astrology, alchemy, and the magical arts of divination—delusions in which he believed the more firmly, in consequence of his religious skepticism.* The old belief in the

* St. Simon records one instance of his credulity, which will remind our readers of the faith placed in "the magic mirror of ink" by Lord Lindsay and other English travelers in Egypt. It bears also some resemblance to the modern tales of *clairvoyance*. "Mademoiselle La Sery had a little girl in her house, about eight or nine years old, who had all the ignorance and simplicity belonging to her age and want of education. Among other knavish pretenders to the occult sciences, of whom the Duke of Orleans saw too many, there was one who declared that he could manifest whatever was desired to be known in a glass of water. He required that a young and innocent person should inspect the fluid, and this little girl was selected for the purpose. They then amused themselves by inquiring about distant persons and places; the little girl saw them in the glass, and described them as they appeared. The man muttered some spell over the glass of water; and the girl then inspected it with success.

"The tricks which had been so often played on the Duke of Orleans induced him to bring these pretensions to a strict test. He whispered to one of the attendants to go to the apartments of Madame de Nancré, to examine closely who were there, the furniture of the apartment, and the most minute circumstances of its condition, and then, without speaking to anybody, to return and whisper the result in the duke's ear. The commission was speedily executed, without any one noticing the incident, the little girl still remaining in the apartment. When the duke received the information, he desired the little girl to look in the water, and tell him what was passing in the saloon of Madame de Nancré. She at once recounted, word for word, every circumstance which his messenger had just communicated to the Duke of Orleans—the description of the countenances, figures, dress, and people; their position in the room, the people playing at different

philosopher's stone had not yet lost its influence. The Duke of Orleans passed nights and days in the search. His furnaces and alembics were constantly at work, and stories soon began to circulate that they were employed in the preparation of poisons. Paris was then full of sinister adventurers, and abominable histories became current of the means employed by poisoners to destroy entire families, which suddenly, and almost inexplicably, disappeared from the world. Tales of execrable assassinations were rife in the fashionable parts of the city. The study of poisons, introduced by the Medicis, had in fact been carried to horrible perfection, but was represented as infinitely more complete in fiction. A glove, an embroidered perfume bag, a scarf, or a shawl, were said to be used as the means of conveying destructive agencies. Fashion and death moved in concert. The fable of the tunic of Nessus was transferred to those robes of

tables; those who were looking about them, or who were sitting or standing; the arrangement of the furniture—in short, everything. The duke at once sent M. de Nancré thither, and he confirmed everything that the little girl said, and which the servant had whispered to the duke."

What follows is still more curious. "Encouraged by the exact description the little girl had given of Madame de Nancré's apartments, the duke wished to learn something more important: he asked what would take place at the death of the king, but without inquiring the time, which could not be shown in the glass. He asked the question of the little girl, who had never been at Versailles, and had never seen any person belonging to the court but himself. She looked into the glass, and described what she saw in minute detail. She accurately described the king's bedroom in Versailles, and the furniture, which was actually there at the time of his death. She depicted perfectly his appearance in the bed, and noticed a child standing by the bedside, wearing an Order, and holding the hand of Madame de Ventadour, on recognizing whom—as she had often seen her at La Sery's—the girl cried out. She described Madame de Maintenon, the singular figure of Fagon, the Duchess of Orleans, the Duchess of Bourbon, the Princess of Conti, and again cried out when she recognized the Duke of Orleans. In a word, she enabled them to know everybody present, princes, nobles, officers, and servants. When she had told all, the Duke of Orleans, surprised that she had not noticed Monseigneur, the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, or the Duc de Berri, asked her if she did not recognize figures of such and such a description. She constantly answered in the negative, and repeated what she had said before. The Duke of Orleans was much astonished, but the omission was explained by the event. This occurred in 1706, when the whole four were full of life and vigor; but they all died before the king. The same was the case with the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Prince of Conti, whom she did not see; though she saw the children of the last two, the Duc du Maine and his family, and the Count of Toulouse. But, until the event, all this was involved in obscurity."—*Mémoires de St. Simon*, vol. ix.

gauze and silk which adorned joyous halls and sumptuous festivities. Even at the domestic hearth, people trembled when the silver cup was offered to the ruby lips of infancy, or when a jewel of more than ordinary brilliancy was seen to sparkle on the breast of a young lady at some country spectacle.

There were other causes of suspicion against the Duke of Orleans. Hints of the illegitimacy of Louis XIV. had not ceased to circulate in the Palais Royal, and assumed a more tangible shape in libels and caricatures published at Leyden and the Hague. It was whispered, that the duke's intrigue to render himself King of Spain, had been favored by Louis XIV., because he suspected that his nephew had discovered *the secret*—that secret, of which every body has written, and which nobody has explained. The extinction of a usurping race by poison, seemed no unnatural resource for a legitimate heir who could not prove the fact of usurpation.

The report of two of the physicians had been precise. They positively asserted that the second dauphin and dauphiness had been the victims of poison, and a strict inquiry was made into all the minute circumstances which had preceded their deaths. It was said that, the evening before the Duchess of Burgundy had been taken ill, the Duc de Noailles had brought to her, from the King of Spain, a splendid box of the best snuff made in his dominions. The young duchess was very fond of snuff, which Louis XIV. could not endure. She therefore concealed the box. It seemed to have been tampered with in some way, for after her death it disappeared, and was never recovered. It was well remembered that the first symptom of her disease had been an agonizing headache. Scent-bags had been mysteriously sent to the dauphin. Another tale was told of a box of kid gloves and perfumery, which made him sick the moment it was opened; and what seemed decisive was that, just before his illness, he had become more intimate than usual with the Duke of Orleans, and had been a frequent visitor at the Palais Royal.

The most curious circumstance respecting these reports was, that they all originated in Paris, and apparently among the very dregs of the people.* Saint Simon asserts that they were disseminated by the hired agents of the Duc de Maine and Madame

* Several popular songs against the Duke of Orleans at this period may be found in the Maurepas collection; they are far too gross to quote, much less to translate. On the other hand, the defence of the duke was warmly undertaken by the pamphleteers of Holland.

de Maintenon, who, if they did not originate them, gave them all the currency in their power.* But wherever these calumnies were devised, the credit given to them was all but universal. On the day of the funeral, the streets resounded with cries of indignation and rage rather than of grief. Insults, sarcasms, and reproaches were directed against the Duke of Orleans: his guards could hardly protect him from popular violence; and when the procession passed near the Palais Royal, the excitement of the mob became so tumultuous, that for some moments it was doubtful whether all the exertions of the authorities could preserve the peace of the city. Thenceforth, the duke could no longer appear in the streets without encountering crowds, that pursued him with cries, groans, and hisses. The women of Paris, the formidable *dames des halles*, followed his carriage, imprecating curses on him as a poisoner and an assassin; and he would in all probability have fallen a victim to their fury, but for the firmness and loyalty of his guards.

At court, his situation was hardly less painful. The courtiers avoided him as a pestilence; his few friends, among whom Saint Simon was the most conspicuous and the most faithful, spoke to him with fear and trembling. His intercourse with Humbert, a worker in metals, but like himself a dabbler in alchemy and astrology, became a new ground for calumnies against him; in fine, his position was so intolerable, that he took the bold resolution of demanding the intervention of the king.

Having adopted this decisive determination, he at once proceeded to Versailles, and demanded an audience. It was granted to him, after a delay which showed that it was permitted with hesitation and reluctance. The king received him in stern and gloomy silence. "Sire," said the prince, "permit me at once to surrender myself as a prisoner to the governor of the Bastile, as the best means of deliverance from the painful position in which I am placed."

* "When my son mildly reproached Maintenon with having calumniated, and charged her on her conscience with having knowingly circulated falsehoods, she replied, 'I told the story because I believed it.' My son replied, 'You could not believe it, as you knew the contrary.' She arrogantly answered, my son keeping his temper, 'Is not the dauphiness dead?' He retorted, 'Could not she die without me? was she immortal?' She replied, 'I was so grieved for her loss as to hate those who were said to be the cause.' My son said, 'But you know that the report made to the king acquitted me, and that the dauphiness was not poisoned.' She said, 'That's true; I shall never again speak about the matter.'"—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

"No, sir," said the king, with a disdainful air, "such a proceeding, under all the circumstances, is wholly unnecessary."

"But your majesty will not refuse to arrest Humbert, who is said to be my accomplice?" continued the duke.

"No, sir," replied the king, still more dryly than before; "but if he voluntarily presents himself as a prisoner, I will give orders for his admission." Then, making a ceremonious bow, he put an end to the audience.*

By the laws of France, the cognizance of all crimes affecting any member of the royal family, belonging to the chancellor; but the king, dreading the consequences of any open and formal step, intrusted the investigation to M. d'Argenson, director-general of the police.† By his orders, when Humbert, at the request of the Duke of Orleans, presented himself at the Bastile, the jailers refused to take him in charge. D'Argenson, after a long and minute inquiry, reported that no tangible evidence could be found against the duke, and it was resolved that the affair should be allowed to sink quietly into oblivion.

A strange circumstance, for a time, revived the calumnies against the Duke of Orleans, but in the end turned the public suspicions into a different channel. At the instigation of Chalais, an emissary of the Princess d'Ursins, a poor cordelier was seized in Poitou, who exclaimed, "I am ruined!" the moment he was arrested. The unfortunate friar was sent, ironed and fettered, to the Bastile. It was confidently said that he was an accomplice of the Duke of Orleans: the duke promptly applied to the lieutenant of police, who told him not to disquiet himself, for the charges against the cordelier in no way implicated the duke's name. It soon began to be whispered that the friar was an emissary from the Court of Vienna, and that the poisonings were the work of the House of Austria.‡ This report, which probably was

* This conversation is reported by Saint Simon, and also, in nearly the same words, by the cotemporary pamphleteers in Holland.

† Pontchartrain, the chancellor, was very indignant at this interference with his functions. D'Argenson, however, behaved like a man of prudence and sense in this difficult transaction, and succeeded in convincing the king of the perfect innocence of the Duke of Orleans.

‡ After being detained three months in the Bastile, the friar was transmitted to Spain, where he was kept during the rest of his life—which lasted several years—so close a prisoner that his name and the nature of the charges against him could never be discovered. Saint Simon says that he used his utmost exertions to penetrate the mystery, but that he was baffled by the rigid precautions the Spanish government had adopted. From the

as groundless as the accusation against the Duke of Orleans, seemed not altogether unfounded to those who remembered the melancholy end of the Queen of Spain, the unfortunate Maria Louisa. It was taken up at once by the multitude, and the popular clamor against the duke was suddenly at an end.

"A cup of tea," says Voltaire, "spilled on Mrs. Masham's gown, changed the destinies of Europe." The Whig ministry in England, which had been the great strength of the Grand Alliance, and had reduced France to the very brink of ruin, was dismissed by Queen Anne to gratify her new favorite, Mrs. Masham, and to vex her former favorite, the Duchess of Marlborough. Harley and Bolingbroke, who succeeded the Whigs, were anxious to make peace with France, and Louis XIV. met their advances with an eagerness equal to their own. It was agreed that Philip V. should retain the throne of Spain, but that there should be an interchange of renunciations between the royal families of France and Spain, so as to prevent the two kingdoms from being ever united under the same sovereign. The King of Spain, for himself and his heirs, renounced all claim to the throne of France: the dukes of Orleans and Berri, having been solemnly recognized as next in succession to the Duke of Anjou, on their parts renounced all right of inheritance to the Spanish crown.

Twelve months had not elapsed from the restoration of peace to France and Europe, when Louis XIV. was menaced with the total extinction of his line in France by the premature death of the Duke of Berri. He died May 4, 1714, partly from intemperance, and partly from the effect of an internal injury which he had received when hunting. He left his duchess pregnant, but the posthumous infant did not survive its birth. The only person between the Duke of Orleans and the presumptive inheritance of the French throne, was a frail and feeble child, the Duke of Anjou. Louis XIV. was obviously drawing towards the close of his long career: the questions of the succession and the regency were forcing themselves upon the public attention. The king himself, though he so detested the thought of death as to prohibit court-mourning for the Duc de Berri, and employed every art to conceal the decay of his physical powers from his subjects, became convinced that, unless some arrangements were made, his decease might be the signal for civil war; and thus a new series of pas-

reports of the jailers, however, he was convinced that the prisoner had been employed by the Austrian government to poison Philip V., his queen, and his family.

sions and parties was developed, which quite changed the aspect of the court, and eventually the position of France, in its relations with all the other powers of Europe.

CHAPTER IX.

THE JANSENISTS AND THE JESUITS.—CLEMENT XI., AND THE BULL UNIGENITUS.—NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.—ITS RECEPTION.—PHILIP IV. OF SPAIN, AND THE SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE.—THE PRINCESS D'URSINS.—SHE ARRANGES A ROYAL MARRIAGE.—THE CONSEQUENCES TO HERSELF.—SETTLEMENT OF THE SUCCESSION BY LOUIS XIV.—HE CONFIDES HIS WILL TO THE PARLIAMENT.—DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE OF ENGLAND.—THE COUNCIL OF REGENCY.—FESTIVITIES OF THE COURT.—RECEPTION OF RIZZA BEY.—FEAST OF ST. LOUIS.—DRESS OF LOUIS XIV.—HIS PREPARATION TO MEET HIS END.—HIS DEATH.—POPULAR MANIFESTATION ON THE OCCASION.—DEPORTMENT OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AT THE FUNERAL.

An apparent religious unity had been produced in France by the expulsion of the Huguenots; Catholicism reigned supreme; but a schism soon rent the Catholic church itself: the disputes between the Jansenists and the Jesuits filled all France with religious controversy. Louis XIV. was persuaded by Madame de Maintenon and his confessor, the Jesuit Le Tellier,* that the Jansenists were dangerous heretics, and that Quesnel's Treatise on Grace, which the Jansenists regarded as their text-book, contained doctrines not only adverse to the faith but dangerous to the monarchy. But Quesnel's doctrines had been adopted by a large minority of the hierarchy;† by the Parliament of Paris,‡ jealous of the liberties of the Gallican church, and hostile to the unlimited supremacy of the pope, maintained by the Jesuits; by

* Le Tellier, so intolerant in France, had shown great indulgence, not merely for the ceremonies but for the ancient religion of China. He published a book defending the concessions made by the Jesuit missionaries to their Chinese converts.

† The Cardinal de Noailles was the leader of the Jansenist clergy; he published a charge to the clergy of his diocese, strenuously recommending Quesnel's version of the New Testament.

‡ Le Tellier had induced the king to withhold promotion from any clergyman who had near relatives in the Parliament.

the majority of the nobility, who hoped that the independence of the church might open the way for the independence of their order; and by the princes of the blood, because these doctrines were odious to Madame de Maintenon.

The king applied to the pope. Clement XI. saw the advantages which must result from rendering the Gallican church more closely dependent on the Holy See. He issued the bull "Unigenitus," which condemned as heretical one hundred and one propositions extracted from the writings of Quesnel,* and Louis XIV. exercised all his authority to have this bull accepted as a New Constitution† of the Gallican church, by the French bishops and the Parliament of Paris. No open opposition was made to the royal will; but there was much secret murmuring and passive resistance: it was with difficulty that the Duke of Orleans was prevented from recording his protest against the Constitution, when the king held "a bed of justice" to enforce its registration.

Philip V., called upon to choose between the Spanish crown and his chances of succession in France, had decided to retain the kingdom of which he had possession. Madame de Maintenon was deeply grieved by this choice; she lamented the existence of the feeble child who stood between Philip and the inheritance of France. In a confidential letter, she wrote, "He lives in spite of all the world."‡ At Utrecht, the English plenipotentiaries proposed that Philip should resign Spain to the Duke of Savoy, receiving the duchy in exchange, which was to remain united to France in the event of his succeeding to the throne of that kingdom. Louis himself pressed Philip to accept this proposition, but he peremptorily refused:§ he consented, however, to nominate the House of Savoy next in succession after his own issue, to the exclusion of the other French princes. It is probable that Philip was induced to take this step by his first queen, Maria Louisa of Savoy, to whom he was passionately attached;‖ for soon after her death, which took place early in 1714, he sought a reconciliation with the Duke of Orleans, who met his advances with the greatest alacrity.

* Cardinal de Noailles showed that several of the propositions thus condemned had been textually extracted from the writings of St. Paul.

† It is, in fact, called "The Constitution" by cotemporary writers.

‡ Lettres de Mad. de Maintenon à la Princesse d'Ursins, vol. ii.

§ Mémoires de Torcy, part iii.

‖ "He loves his wife above everything, leaving to her all the cares of business, and attending to nothing himself. He is devout, and believes that he would be damned if he thought of any woman but his wife; without this devotion he would be a libertine."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

This reconciliation could hardly have been effected, if the Princess d'Ursins had retained her former influence in the court of Spain. Immediately after the queen's death, she shut herself up with the king in the palace of the Duke of Medina Celi, and allowed no one to approach him. Philip was constitutionally warm, but conscientiously chaste; she therefore hoped, notwithstanding her age, that he would invite her to take the place of Maria Louisa. Disappointed in this expectation, she resolved to give him a wife of her own choice: she selected a princess of Parma, Elizabeth Farnese, niece of the reigning duke, very poor, and almost unknown, but whom she hoped to govern as absolutely as she had the preceding queen, as the princess would be indebted for a crown to her alone. The negotiation was studiously concealed from Louis XIV.: no communication was made to him until all the preliminaries had been arranged; and this monarch, who had always been master in his own family, was enraged at finding that a female adventurer dared to dispose of the hand of his grandson without his consent.

The overthrow and banishment of the Princess d'Ursins was quite melo-dramatic. She went to meet the new Queen of Spain at Xadrac, about seven leagues from Guadalajara, where she had left the king. As the marriage had been her own work, she felt sure of being received with friendship and gratitude. She was thunderstruck when the queen accused her of disrespect, commanded the attendants to remove such a mad woman from her presence, and caused her to be turned out of doors by the shoulders. At the same time, she ordered a lieutenant of the guards to arrest her, to place her in a traveling carriage, with only a couple of footmen, and not to halt until they had removed her beyond the frontier. The officer attempted to remonstrate; but the young queen haughtily demanded, if he had not received orders from the King of Spain to obey her without delay or hesitation? Such orders, in every particular, had been prepared beforehand for this sudden stroke of policy. Probably it was concerted by the two kings; the one weary of dependence, the other offended at the want of deference towards him, manifested by a person whom he had trusted with his confidence. But the profound secret of their concert has never been revealed; and the expulsion of the Princess d'Ursins is a proof of the weakness of Philip V., who had so long submitted to her with the most implicit obedience, and not less a proof of his ingratitude and hardness of heart; for the princess was immediately thrust into a carriage, which had previously been prepared, with a single waiting-woman,

without having had a moment to change her court-dress, or provide any wrappers against the cold, which was extreme. She was not even allowed time or money, change of linen, or refreshment for a journey of more than a fortnight over the worst of the detestable roads of Spain. During her journey, she could obtain no food but hard-boiled eggs, at the miserable Spanish inns. It was not until she had reached St. Jean de Luz, that she obtained better food, repose on a bed, and some borrowed clothes to change her dress.*

The Princess d'Ursins demanded, but did not immediately obtain, permission to come to Paris. When she presented herself at Versailles, she was received with the most marked coldness. The King of Spain set at liberty Regnault and Flotte, whom the Duke of Orleans had employed as his agents when intriguing for the Spanish crown; and he declared that he never would have said a word against that prince, had he not been misled by the calumnious representations of his late favorite. This gave the duke an excuse for obtaining from the king an order that the Princess d'Ursins should not appear at any place where there was a chance of her meeting the duke, his mother, his duchess, or his daughter. Thus warned of the danger to which she would be exposed when the Duke of Orleans should be placed at the head of the government, the princess, at the first symptoms of the king's illness, fled precipitately to Genoa. After residing some years in that city, she removed to Rome, where she lived in great opulence, and was all-powerful at the petty court of the Old Pretender. She died at Rome, in her eighty-first year, December 5, 1722.

But while the Duke of Orleans was delivered from a dangerous enemy at the Court of Spain, a more imminent peril menaced his interests in France. When it appeared that the posthumous child of the Duc de Berri was a girl, who did not long survive her birth, Louis XIV. took advantage of the possible extinction of the House of Bourbon, as a pretext for declaring that, on failure of heirs in the legitimate branches, his natural children should be capable of inheriting the crown. This act was a solemn confirmation of the treaty which proclaimed the everlasting separation of the crowns of France and Spain. It was dictated, however, by rather excessive foresight, for there existed heirs of the Houses of Condé, Conti, and Orleans. But the king had passed his life in aggrandizing the privileges of his natural children; they had been legiti-

* Archdeacon Coxe's History of Spain under the House of Bourbon, vol. ii. chap. 22.

mated forty years before; they had obtained the same rank as princes of the blood; they had been granted precedence above the dukes and peers of the realm in the parliamentary session; but this last act of the royal will was a direct attack on the fundamental laws of the monarchy. The bare idea of seeing a bastard on the throne revolted all France. Louis XIV. must have had the most exaggerated confidence in his political power, if he ever for a moment believed that such an act would be allowed to stand for one month after his death. If the legitimate branches of the House of Bourbon should become extinct, all the constitutional authorities maintained that recourse should be had to election, as in the time of the ancient Franks; and that a bar of bastardy should never be permitted to sully the royal escutcheon.

Nevertheless, Louis XIV., confident in the supremacy of his power, resolved to change the laws of the monarchy. The ordinance admitting the legitimated princes to the inheritance of the crown is dated July, 1714, the seventy-first year of the king's reign. With a timidity which is manifest in the document itself,* the king sets forth the rights of the legitimated princes, and assures to them the inheritance of the throne, in their order of primogeniture. At the same time, he ordained that their children should have seats in Parliament as members of the royal family, even though no real peerage should be attached to their names.† Louis XIV., however, understood the principles of his monarchy too well to believe that such an edict could long continue. He said to the Duke of Berwick, "This will last while I live; after my departure it will be disregarded."‡ Nevertheless, he insisted that it should be registered with all the solemnities usually ac-

* We extract part of the ordinance, as it was registered by the Parliament in the session of 1714.

"We declare and order by the present edict, irrevocable and perpetual, that if in the course of time all the legitimate branches of our august House of Bourbon should become extinct, so that no one direct and lawful heir to our crown should survive, in that case it shall devolve and be conceded to our legitimated sons, and their male offspring and descendants in perpetuity, born and to be born in lawful marriage, preserving amongst them the order of succession, and preferring always the elder to the younger branch; declaring them by these presents; but only in the case of failure of all legitimate princes of our blood, capable of succeeding to the throne of France, exclusive of all other claimants."

† The peers and Parliament denounced this concession as a violation of the privileges of the peerage and the constitution of the realm. Saint Simon devotes a whole volume (xxi.) to proving its illegality: he even institutes a comparison between this act and the crime of high treason.

‡ Mémoires de Duc de Berwick, tome iii.

companying important royal edicts. The princes of the blood and the peers were present at the session; and the king insisted that the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon and the Prince of Conti should sanction by their presence the elevation of his natural children to their rank and prerogatives.

Scarcely had this edict been registered, when the Parliament was again convoked by M. Joly de Fleury, the advocate-general, to receive a sealed document, which the king had sent to them, accompanied by a letter written with his own hand. In this, Louis XIV. stated, that "so many successive deaths in the royal family had placed the hopes of the monarchy on the head of an infant; consequently, that the king's decease would render a regency necessary; that these motives had induced his majesty to regulate everything by his will, which his chancellor had been instructed to confide to the custody of the court." The chancellor then entered the saloon of the Parliament, and placed upon the table a packet, signed by the king at the four corners, and sealed with seven seals, bearing the impression of the royal arms, which it was forbidden to break. The advocate-general, Joly de Fleury, in the name of the Parliament, took formal possession of this important deposit, and proposed a vote of thanks to the king for the confidence he had been pleased to repose in his faithful Parliament. All the members, according to the ancient and noble custom, immediately fell upon their knees, and joined in prayer for the prolongation of his majesty's life. The will was then delivered to the first president, who received it in his hand, previously gloved with embroidered silk, and carried it to a recess hollowed in the wall, about four feet square. The recess was then closed with a stone, which fitted it accurately, and the principal officers of state affixed their seals along the lines of its junction with the wall.*

The complete legitimation of Montespan's children had been the work of Madame de Maintenon. She hoped that, when they were declared capable of inheriting the crown, she would herself be recognized Queen of France and Navarre. It was chiefly through her exertions that the king had been induced to regulate the regency by his will. According to the ancient and fundamental laws of the monarchy, a regency might be derived from two very distinct sources. It might be claimed of right or be

* Voysin, who had been six years Minister at War, had just been appointed chancellor, Pontchartrain having resigned the office in consequence of the increasing infirmities produced by sickness and old age.

bestowed by election. By right, it belonged to the mother or the nearest relative. By election, it was in the gift of the Parliament or the States-general. In either case, the Duke of Orleans was sure to be regent: he was the first prince of the blood, and he was a decided favorite with the great majority of the Parliament. The doubts arising from disputed successions, and the dangers attached to any interruption in the descent of royal inheritance, profoundly agitated almost every country in Europe.

There was hardly a nation which had not endured the most severe pressure, and some of them the most dire calamities, during the last twelve years, from the war excited by a disputed succession in Spain. Already, it was easy to foresee that similar troubles would arise from the Austrian succession; for the emperor, Charles VI., having no sons, was laboring to establish the Pragmatic Sanction, which would secure the inheritance of the Hungarian crown to his daughters. The two Houses of Farnese and Medicis were on the point of becoming extinct, without any hope of perpetuation, and already statesmen were speculating on the future fate of their duchies of Parma and Tuscany. Finally, the death of Queen Anne (August 12, 1714) had placed a German prince on the throne of England, to the exclusion of the hereditary title of the Stuarts. Under such circumstances, Louis XIV. was justified in providing for the regency. He committed, however, a serious error in trusting to the mere efficacy of his will: he should have remembered what little respect was shown to the testamentary arrangements of his own father, and have procured a constitutional sanction to his plans, either from the parliaments of his kingdom, or from a convocation of the States-general.

After all the reports that had been current against the Duke of Orleans, which Louis himself had more than tacitly sanctioned, it could hardly have been expected that he would be appointed sole regent without restriction, and only guardian of the feeble child, whose existence was the single obstacle which separated him from the throne. On these topics, Madame de Maintenon and the Duc de Maine insisted with great plausibility; but, even had they been silent, the reasons for appointing a council of regency were so strong and so obvious, that every adviser of the king, including Archbishop Fénélon, who was in exile,* urged that such a course should at once be adopted.

Louis then constructed a council of regency. It consisted of

* Histoire de Fénélon, livre vii.

the Duke of Orleans, as president; the young Duke of Bourbon—who, however, was not to be admitted to take his seat until he had attained twenty-four years of age; the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse, legitimated sons of Madame de Montespan; the chancellor of France; the president of the royal council; and the five marshals of France, Villeroy, Villars, Uxelles, Tallard, and Harcourt. The Duke of Orleans had no power above the others, save the right to give a casting vote in case of an equal division of opinions. The Duc de Maine was intrusted with the personal guardianship and education of the infant king; and it was ordered that from him alone Villeroy, who commanded the army, should receive orders. The Count de Toulouse was appointed to succeed the marshal in the control of the household. Finally, the king earnestly recommended to the regency, the Hôtel des Invalides, where so many of his veterans had found refuge; the establishment at Saint Cyr, which offered an asylum to poor girls of noble birth; and the maintenance of that political and Catholic unity, which it had been the great object of his reign to found and secure.*

Nearly all the members of the council were personal enemies of the Duke of Orleans. The Duc de Maine—who, ever since his legitimation, had aspired to the regency and the chance of succession—was one of the most active in circulating the reports which accused the duke of having poisoned his cousins.† The ministers were mere creatures of Maintenon. Villeroy, who had been the intimate friend of Monsieur, the duke's father, had separated himself from the prince, when he saw that he had lost the favor of the king. The others professed neutrality, but they had secretly promised their support to the Duc de Maine and Maintenon. It is doubtful whether the Duke of Orleans had discovered the contents of the king's will; but it is certain that he suspected them, and that he placed no reliance on Louis's protestations that there was nothing in the will injurious to the duke's interests. He however made no complaint publicly: but he secretly sounded the dukes and peers, who had been grievously offended by the

* The will, dated from Marly, August 2, 1714, is inserted at full length in the great collection of *Anciennes Lois Françaises*, vol. xx. p. 623.

† "The Duc de Maine, having obtained the rank of a prince of the blood, believed that it would not be difficult for him to attain royal dignity; and that he could easily arrange matters respecting my son and the other princes. This was the reason why he and the old hag (Maintenon) circulated the calumny that my son had poisoned the dauphiness and the Duc de Berri."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

promotion of the legitimated princes. He courted the parliaments, displeased by the despotism which suppressed all remonstrance and expression of free opinion; he courted the support of England, through his friend Stanhope, who was high in the confidence of George I.; and he formed a close intimacy with the Earl of Stair, the English ambassador at Paris, who was odious to Louis XIV., on account of his pertinacity in insisting on the fulfillment of the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht.* Louis was also aware that the ambassador was intimately connected with the chiefs of the parliamentary faction. A revolution in France, similar to the English Revolution of 1688, would have been very advantageous to the House of Hanover. It would have assured its rights, sanctioned its power, and destroyed all the hopes which the partisans of the Stuarts entertained of removing George I. to make room for the Pretender.†

Marly and Versailles exhibited no traces of the declining health of the king, and the prostration of his powers, produced by old age. Feasts and galas were multiplied. Notwithstanding the exhausted state of the finances, the court gave itself up entirely to pleasure and dissipation. Louis XIV. made a point of appearing at every spectacle and entertainment: he knew that his health was closely watched by the Earl of Stair, and that the least sign of indisposition was made the subject of a dispatch. He therefore took extraordinary pains to induce a belief that he still had every prospect of a long life. One evening, at supper, he said aloud, "If I continue to eat with as good an appetite as now, I shall cause great losses to those English gentlemen who have wagered that I shall not survive the 1st of next September."‡

In February, 1715, it was announced that an ambassador had arrived in France from Persia. This adventurer, who called

* By the treaty of Utrecht, France had engaged to destroy the port of Dunkirk, a stipulation tardily and imperfectly executed. To atone to his subjects for the loss of this harbor, Louis had constructed the Mardyke canal, which Lord Stair believed likely to be more dangerous to English commerce than Dunkirk itself. Once, when the ambassador remonstrated with the king rather more warmly than etiquette permitted, Louis XIV. assuming all his dignity, replied, "My lord ambassador, I have always been the master in my own kingdom, and not unfrequently in the kingdoms of others; do not revive such recollections."

† Mémoires de M. de Torcy, ann. 1715.

‡ Capefigue. He quotes as his authority an uncatalogued manuscript in the National Library of France. The English and Dutch journals, in the early part of 1715, contain many allusions to the declining health of Louis XIV.

himself Rizza Bey, was a wealthy Persian merchant, who had no pretensions whatever to an official character;* but Louis XIV. received him at Versailles with all the magnificence which used to be displayed in the days of his prime and vigor. At the audience the king wore his jeweled robes, and displayed more than ordinary dignity: he showed every possible attention to Rizza Bey, and ordered the courtiers to visit him at his hotel.†

On the 3d of May, the king rose early to observe a remarkable eclipse of the sun, assisted by the eminent philosopher Cassini, who had come to Versailles for that purpose. The day was very fatiguing to the king. He supped that night with the Duchess of Berri, but was so fatigued that he retired to rest at eight o'clock. Rumors of the king's illness were circulated, and were deemed so important, that all the ambassadors sent off expresses to their respective courts. The king heard of these reports; and, in order to silence them, gave orders for a review of the household troops at Marly. This brilliant spectacle, to which all the foreign envoys were invited, took place on the 25th of June. Louis remained four hours on horseback, in the presence of the ambassadors, and joined them in a hunting party on the following day. When they returned to Paris, he quitted Marly and removed to Versailles.

Great preparations were made for the celebration of the feast of St. Louis, which takes place on the 25th of August. The king, for the last time, dined in public, surrounded by his brilliant court. But he fainted at the end of the entertainment, and was conveyed to bed in a high fever.‡ On the following morning he was so much better as to command a concert in his ante-chamber; but in the evening he sent for Marshal Villeroi, and gave him instructions to have the royal guards in readiness to support the council of regency. In the course of the day he added a codicil to his will, ordaining that his successor should be removed for

* Some authorities state that he was the exiled governor of a province, and that he assumed the character of an ambassador to insure his personal safety.

† The memory of the brilliant entertainments given to Rizza Bey is preserved in several curious engravings deposited in the National Library of France. Nothing can be more whimsical than the stiff figures of the ambassador and his attendants, their embroidered robes, and their tall pointed caps, which appear to have been more than a yard in length.

‡ The cotemporary journalists of England and Holland say, that Louis, perceiving himself to be closely watched by the Earl of Stair, ate more heartily than usual, in order to deceive the ambassador respecting the state of his health, and that the consequent surfeit caused his death. Hence arose the proverb, "Old Louis, after all, was killed by a Briton."

safety to the castle of Vincennes; that Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, should be his preceptor, and Le Tellier his confessor.* He then received the usual rites of the church.

Louis now prepared to meet death with a magnanimity worthy of his race. He took a solemn farewell of the princes of the blood, and spoke so affectionately to the Duke of Orleans, that the latter burst into tears.† His great-grandson and heir was then brought in by the Duchess of Ventadour,‡ his governess. The king took the child in his withered arms, and having blessed him, said, "My little boy, you are going to be a great king, but your happiness will depend on your submission to God, and the care you take of your subjects; avoid war as much as possible; it is the ruin of nations; follow not the bad example I have set you in this respect. I have often engaged in war too lightly, and have continued it from vanity; do not imitate me, but be a pacific prince; let your chief object be to satisfy your subjects; profit by the good education which the Duchesse de Ventadour is giving you; obey her, and follow the good lessons she will teach you." Then, turning to the duchess, he said, "I have to thank you, madame, for the care with which you are bringing up this child, and for the tender love you manifest towards him. Continue your cares, I beseech you; may you deserve, and may he give you all his confidence."

Gangrene had now made its appearance in the king's legs, and was rapidly spreading: but he still continued to regulate the affairs of the kingdom with his ministers. As society fatigued him, few were permitted to approach him; but Madame de Maintenon remained day and night by his bed; but her services were merely mechanical, and she exhibited a total want of feeling. Almost the only phrase the king addressed to her was certainly not likely to be agreeable: "The only thing that consoles me, madame," said he, "is that you will soon rejoin me."§

Louis XIV. died on the 1st of September, 1715, four days before attaining his seventy-seventh year. At a signal from the

* Journal des derniers instans du Roi, par M. Lefevre.

† The duke afterwards asserted in parliament that, during this interview, the king had expressed himself dissatisfied with the arrangements he had made in his will. This is highly improbable, and utterly inconsistent with the directions which he gave aloud to Villeroi and the Duc de Maine.

‡ She was said to be too intimate with Villeroi, and to have brought him over to the party of Madame de Maintenon. Her quarrel with the Duke of Orleans arose from his having dismissed his mistress, Madame d'Argenton, who was a great friend and favorite of the duchess.

§ Journal des derniers instans du Roi, par M. Lefevre.

physician, the chamberlain of France cried out, "The king is dead." At the same instant, the sumptuous apartments of Versailles were thrown open, and the Duchess of Ventadour led forward a child of five years of age, in royal robes; while heralds and courtiers proclaimed, "The king is alive! Long live Louis Fifteenth of the name, our lord and master!"*

By his will, the king bequeathed his heart to the church of the Jesuits, as his father Louis XIII. had done more than seventy years before. His bowels, according to custom, were interred in Notre Dame. The funeral procession to St. Denis was poor and ineffective: the multitude exhibited no signs of sorrow; on the contrary, it seems as if it had been a day of festivity and rejoicing. "There was nothing but eating and drinking along the whole road to St. Denis," says a cotemporary journalist.† Pamphlets, lampoons, and satires assailed his memory before his body was deposited in the grave.‡ Never was there a monarch so flattered

* "At his death, Louis XIV. showed that he was a truly great man, for no one could die with more firmness and courage than he did. For eight successive days he had death before his eyes without fear or terror: he arranged everything as coolly as if he had been preparing for a journey.

"Eight or ten days before his death he was attacked in the leg, and the gangrene came on, of which he died. But during the four months previous to his decease, he was wasted away by slow fever, and became so thin that he looked like a splinter of wood. His physician, that old knave Fagon, had reduced him to this state by the excessive use of purgatives and sudorifics. Besides, at the instigation of Le Tellier, the king was so tormented about that accursed *constitution*, that he had no rest either by day or night. Fagon was a contemptible scoundrel, more attached to Maintenon than to the king."—*Mémoires de Madame.*

† Leyden Gazette, October, 1715.

‡ Among these pasquinades there is one too remarkable for its audacious blasphemy to be omitted. It was a proper herald to that flood of irreligion which overspread France under the regency:—

"He is dead, that great Bourbón,
Lamented only by Maintenon,
Le Tellier, and old Fagon.

"You his subjects with a tear
View the king upon his bier;
He has left you grief and fear.

"Cause of sorrow and distress
He has left you in excess,
For he leaves you penniless.

"Still he showed some love for his nation,
Dying, like Jesus, for its salvation;
Leaving his haughty device in the lurch,
For the good of the State and the good of the Church."

during life, and so insulted after death. Massillon alone paid due homage to his memory in that immortal funeral oration, which proclaims that, "God alone is great" and that all earthly pomp and magnificence must terminate in such a fate as that of the royal dust which lay before him.

At the conclusion of the service, a sharp dispute about some trifling point of etiquette arose in the church itself, and created considerable confusion. It was settled by the omission of those parts of the ceremonial about which a question arose. Even St. Simon confesses that the deportment of the Duke of Orleans at the funeral was very unsuited to so solemn an occasion, and that he exhibited a malicious pleasure in witnessing the dispute about etiquette, which arose between the parliament and the peers, as he was aware that all such quarrels would strengthen his influence and increase his power.

CHAPTER X.

AN EPISODE.—THE DUCHESSE DE BERRI, ELDEST DAUGHTER OF THE REGENT ORLEANS.—HER INFANCY AND EARLY YOUTH.—HER MARRIAGE WITH THE DUC DE BERRI.—THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY.—THEIR CONDUCT TO THE DUCHESSE DE BERRI.—THE RETURN OF THEIR GENEROSITY.—HER TREATMENT OF HER MOTHER.—REMONSTRANCE OF LOUIS XIV. AND MADAME MAINTENON.—THE PEARL NECKLACE AND THE WAITING MAID.—THE DISCHARGE OF ONE, AND RESTITUTION OF THE OTHER.—SCANDALOUS LIFE OF THE DUCHESSE DE BERRI.—LA HAYE.—DEATH OF THE DUC DE BERRI.—EXTRAVAGANCES OF THE DUCHESS.—RION.—HIS PERSON DESCRIBED BY MADAME.—HIS INFLUENCE ON THE DUCHESS.—INSTANCE OF IT.—THE TWO CARMELITE NUNS AND THE DUCHESS.—HER LIFE IN DANGER.—HER MARRIAGE WITH RION.—HER LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH.—MADAME LA MOUCHY.—GRATEFUL FEELINGS OF A FAVORITE.—RION AND THE PRINCE OF CONDE'S SONG.

The brief but profligate career of the Duchesse de Berri, belongs more to the history of the Duke of Orleans when a private individual, than after he became regent; we shall therefore introduce it here as an episode, dwelling as lightly as possible on scandalous scenes and shocking orgies, which can hardly be written or read without pain and disgust. She was the eldest daughter of the

Duke and Duchess of Orleans. When seven years of age she was attacked by some disease, which the physicians declared to be mortal; but her father, who piqued himself on his chemical and medical acquirements, took her under his own charge, and restored her to health. Thenceforth he doated on her with an affection which increased with years, and ordered that she should be indulged in all her whims and caprices. Her mother disliked as much as her father loved her. She was left entirely to the care of servants; and accordingly, at the period of her marriage to the Duc de Berri, she was as thoroughly spoiled a young lady as ever entered into society.

At the time of her marriage, her father-in-law, the dauphin, viewed with mean jealousy the talents, virtues, and piety of his eldest son, the Duke of Burgundy, who had been the pupil of Fénélon and Beauvilliers. The irreproachable conduct of this young prince was painfully contrasted with the scandalous lives of the rest of the court. Cabals were formed against him, and every effort was made to destroy any influence he might acquire, should his father succeed to the throne. On the other hand, the Duc de Berri, who resembled his father in habits, character, and disposition, was a decided favorite with the dauphin, and the cabal that surrounded him. The young duchess had not been more than a week married, when she prepared so to guide her husband as to insure for herself a predominant influence over the mind of the dauphin. Just as her schemes seemed most certain of success, and when she had quarreled irretrievably with the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, Monseigneur died, as has been already related, and all her fine projects were at once overthrown. The Duke of Burgundy was now dauphin: his duchess, the darling of the king and Madame de Maintenon, was alienated from the Duchesse de Berri, who, nevertheless, had to depend on the young dauphiness for everything that could insure her social position and consideration.

The new dauphin and dauphiness bore their dignities meekly. Their first care was to renew the bonds of fraternal intimacy with the Duc de Berri, to show his duchess that they were ready to forget her previous annoyances, and to convince both that they were eager to soften that inequality which the death of Monseigneur had necessarily created between his children. On the very day after the death of Monseigneur, the new dauphin and dauphiness visited the Duc and Duchesse de Berri in their beds, and repeated the same honor in the afternoon. The Duc de Berri, whose attachment to his brother had never been shaken, was con-

soled for the loss of his father by such prompt and signal marks of brotherly love; nor was he less sensible to the advances of the dauphiness, which he received the more gratefully as he knew that they had not been quite merited by his past conduct.

Madame de Berri answered these advances with wit, with tears, and with protestations; but in her inmost soul she deeply grieved at receiving any attentions which she was forced to ascribe to pure generosity. An excessive courage, leading to daring violence, and which was utterly unconstrained by religious feeling, left no room for any sentiments in her heart but those of rage and disappointment. Lulled with the hope that it would only be necessary to control her inclinations and passions until her marriage, and that then she would be at liberty to indulge her caprices to an unlimited extent, she had placed implicit reliance on such representations. Having complete mastery over her father, the Duke of Orleans, and not less over her husband during his first intoxication of passion, she made no scruple of casting off the authority of her mother, whose illegitimate birth she regarded as an obstacle to her own ambition. With such a temper and these feelings, she could not submit to the patronage freely offered her by the young dauphiness—too young, indeed, to hold any person in leading-strings, much less so obstinate and petulant a lady as the Duchesse de Berri. Jealousy, impatience of the deference she was compelled to show to her sister-in-law, the constraint of the regular hours kept by the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, the weight of obligations—difficulties, but more especially of gratitude—accorded badly with the duchess's irregular tastes, and untrained feelings, and still less with the principles she had imbibed from the infidel and licentious books, which had been placed in her hands by her own father.

One example of her pride and petulance may serve as a specimen. It was a part of the strict etiquette of the court of Louis XIV., that only half of the folding-doors should be opened to visitors of the royal family, who were not themselves of royal rank. One morning, while the Duchesse de Berri was at her toilette, the Duchess of Orleans came to the dressing-room to make some trifling adjustment of her robes. The servant in attendance, anxious to show all possible respect to the mother of his mistress, and the daughter of his king, threw open both the folding-doors for her admittance. Madame de Berri received her mother so coldly, that the poor Duchess of Orleans deemed it necessary to abridge her visit. Scarcely had she departed, when Madame de Berri sent for the heads of her household, and in-

sisted that the servant should at once be dismissed. It was with difficulty she could be got to comprehend that this would be an unwarrantable interference with the royal household, as the servant was actually in the employment of the king. She burst into a passion of tears when she found that the servant had been let off with a simple reprimand.

The disputes between the duchesses rendered it necessary to provide separate establishments for the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri: the court of the former, as dauphin, was well attended, while that of the latter was almost deserted. This gave fresh fuel to Madame de Berri's jealous rage, and she created such confusion in the royal family, that the king found it necessary to interfere. He sent for the lady to his closet, and reproached her at great length, and with much severity, on the impropriety of her conduct. She had to endure a similar lecture from Madame de Maintenon. The story of her disgrace soon spread abroad, and not a little contributed to increase the solitude of her saloons. Her father redoubled his attentions at this crisis: calumny spread abroad the most horrible imputations, which the busy whisperers of the court conveyed to the Duc de Berri, who rejected them with horror, but was not the less annoyed at appearances which gave them some semblance of plausibility. He condemned, in the strongest terms, the sarcasms against faith and morals which both father and daughter continually uttered in his presence, and he began to exhibit an alienation from his wife as marked as his former attachment.

Almost the only person whom Madame de Berri feared was the king; but she, like everybody else, was completely subjugated by the despotism which Louis XIV. maintained in his own family. He always insisted on the attendance of all the princes and princesses when he visited Fontainebleau. In July, 1711, he gave orders for the departure of the court. Madame de Berri, who was in the fourth month of her first pregnancy, and in very delicate health, anxious to avoid the fatigue of a journey at such a critical time, sent her husband to ask for leave of absence, which was harshly refused. The Duchess of Orleans then applied to the dauphiness and Madame de Maintenon, who went to the king, fortified by the certificate of his own physician, Fagon, but their efforts were useless—they could only obtain permission for the duchess to travel part of the way by water. This concession was unfortunate: in passing the bridge of Melun, the boat struck against one of the piers, and was nearly upset. Fortunately, she righted, but all the passengers were hurt. The Duchesse de Berri

was so frightened and injured, that she was prematurely confined of a dead daughter on the very night of her arrival at Fontainebleau. The king expressed neither sorrow for the child nor sympathy for the mother: it was enough for him that his orders had been obeyed.

The quarrels between the Duchess of Orleans and her daughter were aggravated by an intriguing waiting-maid, daughter to the nurse of the Duke of Orleans, and who felt, or pretended to feel, the affection of a sister for Madame de Berri. At the instigation of this servant, Madame de Berri asked from her mother a necklace, of rare and costly pearls, which had belonged to the late Monsieur, and which the Duchess of Orleans took great pride in wearing. This unreasonable request was refused; But Madame de Berri applied to her doating father, who at once gratified her wishes. Mother and daughter were now at open war: the latter ostentatiously wore the necklace in scornful triumph wherever she expected to meet the Duchess of Orleans; and matters were carried to such a length that Madame d'Orleans made a formal complaint on the subject to the king, her father. Unwilling to part with the necklace, and afraid to resist the iron will of Louis XIV., Madame de Berri took to her bed, where she was visited by the dauphiness, who endeavored to persuade her to submission.

The Duc de Berri was as deeply grieved as his duchess, and the Duke of Orleans was in the greatest perplexity. The necklace was not the only question in issue. The king declared that the mischief-making waiting-maid should be dismissed, and harshly censured the Duc de Berri for daring to remonstrate against this determination. This order completed the fury of Madame de Berri: it seemed an intolerable affront to her dignity, as well as a sad privation of her comforts. She wept, cried, shrieked, and swooned; she hurled invectives against her husband and father, for sacrificing her to their weakness, but it was all in vain. Obedience was unavoidable when Louis XIV. had spoken: she was forced to dismiss her maid, to carry the necklace back to her mother with her own hands, and to ask pardon for the offences she had committed. But this was not the end of her humiliations. She was led by her mother into the king's closet, where Louis XIV., with that dignified severity which rendered his rebukes so terrible, enumerated her varied offences, and threatened her with banishment from the court, if they should be repeated. She was so affected, that she remained for some days in privacy; and when she again appeared in public, she could not disguise her rage and indignation.

A less important matter added to her mortification. Her husband's first esquire died, and the emoluments attached to his office induced persons of the first rank to become candidates for the vacancy. Amongst others, the Chevalier de Roye, and the Marquis de Lévi, presented themselves; and the duchess promised her interest to both, for she was under many obligations to the mother of the former, and the wife of the latter. But she did not keep her word with either. At the request of the Duc d'Antin,* she procured the place for one of his cousins, who was a favorite of Madame de Maintenon. This gave just offence to the noblemen who had relied on her promises, and who complained openly of her falsehood. The Countess de Noucy and Madame de Lévi declared that they would refrain from attending her saloons, and only salute her in public. Madame de Maintenon, whom she had hoped to conciliate by the appointment, afforded her no aid, and the king peremptorily refused to interfere.

The birth of a son, though a seven months child, seemed to promise her a new source of influence. The baby, on the day of its birth, was proclaimed Duc d'Alençon, and general rejoicings were ordained. But the feeble infant did not live more than ten days; and, from the period of his death, the decline of the power which the duchess previously possessed over her husband became more marked and obvious to the court. To drown her sorrow, she renewed her scenes of scandalous dissipation, and had more than once to be carried drunk from the table, in the presence of her father and her husband.

At length she chose to fall in love with La Haye, her husband's chamberlain, conducting herself so imprudently that the whole court was scandalized. Repeated quarrels took place between her and her husband. On one occasion, the duke having surprised her in some improper familiarities, struck and kicked her, threatened to reveal her conduct to the king, and to have her shut up in a convent for the rest of her life. Upon this the impetuous duchess besought La Haye to elope with her and escape to Flanders. The terrified chamberlain had great difficulty in resisting her importunities; and she would probably have adopted some desperate course but for her husband's sudden illness and premature death.

From the time of her widowhood until the death of Louis XIV. Madame de Berri had to endure the coldness of the court and the desertion of the courtiers. Her chief intimate was Madame de

* The legitimate son of Madame de Maintenon; he is described in all the memoirs of the time as a gambler, a spendthrift, and a poltroon.

Mouchy, a lady who, like herself, was addicted to strong liquors and affairs of gallantry. The king treated the duchess in public with all proper respect, but she was never admitted to his private parties, and she was excluded from the saloons of Madame de Maintenon. But when her fond father became regent, the scene was changed. She was installed in the best suite of apartments at the Luxembourg, and was granted a company of the royal guards, an honor rarely conceded even to a queen dowager. Not satisfied with this, she traversed Paris, drums beating, cymbals clashing, and timbrels sounding before her, passing in this guise along the quay of the Tuileries, where the king resided. She insisted on receiving royal honors, at the opera; a dais in her box, four of her guards on the stage, and a detachment of the rest in the pit. These extravagances were intolerable; the regent was compelled to forbid such unseemly display, at which the duchess was so much offended, that she refused to be again seen publicly at the opera, and shrouded herself in the concealment of a private box. In one of her visits to the theatre, her guards stopped the carriage of the Prince de Conti, and ill-treated the coachman. The prince complained to the regent, who had again to reprove his petulant daughter, and compel her to make an apology. She threw the whole blame on the guard, who was placed in confinement, but was liberated shortly after, at the request of the Prince of Conti.

After many transitory amours, she at length fell desperately in love with Rion, an officer of her guards, destitute of personal advantages,* but possessed of winning manners. He was the nephew of the Duke de Lauzun, and he treated her much as his uncle had treated the former Mademoiselle d'Orleans.† Rion profited by the extravagant passion of the duchess: he received from her rich dresses, splendid lace, jewels, rings, and plumes. In return, he treated her with the most insolent caprice, taking pleasure in exciting her jealousy, and sometimes pretending to be jealous of her. He often made her weep, and then mocked at her tears. By degrees he established such an ascendency over her that she ventured to do nothing without his permission—not even the

* "I cannot conceive how any one could love this Rion; the fellow has neither shape nor figure; with his green and yellow visage he looks like a ghost; he has the mouth, nose, and eyes of a Chinese, and looks more like a baboon than a Gascon, as he is. He has a large head sunk between large shoulders, and on the whole is decidedly ugly. I think him like one of the Indian figures they paint on fire-screens."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† See Miss Pardoe's Louis XIV., vol. ii. ch. 19.

most indifferent matters. Sometimes, when she was anxious to leave the opera, he made her wait, and sometimes he hurried her away in spite of herself. He compelled her to receive ladies whom she disliked, or of whom she was jealous, and to refuse ladies who displeased him, or of whom he affected a jealousy.

Even in affairs of dress she was not allowed a will of her own. It was his amusement to make her change her dress when her toilette was completed, and this so often, and sometimes so publicly, that at length she used, in the evening, to ask what were his orders for the next day: morning came, and every thing was changed again, while the princess wept with vexation. As apartments had been provided for him at the Luxembourg, he used to send messages to her by his confidential servants while she was at her toilette, to inquire what ribbons, gowns, and ornaments she had selected; and he almost always compelled her to wear something she did not like. If she ever attempted to do anything without his leave, he treated her like a servant, and tears lasted for several days. This princess, so notorious for her haughtiness and pride, descended so far as to sit at table and join in the riotous excesses of Rion and his base companions.

A Jesuit, named Father Riglet, whom she had known as a child, and had ever since held in high regard, joined in these private entertainments without feeling any compunctions himself, or causing any embarrassment to the Duchess de Berri. Madame de Mouchy, already mentioned, was in the secret of these strange particulars; she and Rion invited the guests and fixed the days. La Mouchy often reconciled the princess and her lover, who in fact treated this lady with far more respect than the duchess; she, however, pretended not to see this, being in fear of a quarrel, which would deprive her of so adored a lover, and so useful a confidante.

This life was led in public; everybody at the Luxembourg received directions from Rion, who, on his side, took care to be respectful to everybody except the princess. He used publicly to reply to her with such rudeness as to make the spectators cast down their eyes, and bring tears into those of the duchess, who placed no constraint on her passionate submission to his caprices even before company.* But what must appear strange is, that in the midst of this irregular life, the duchess took apartments in the Carmelite convent of the Faubourg St. Germain, where she

* St. Simon insinuates that Rion was advised to exercise this tyranny by the Duc de Lauzun, who boasted that he had successfully tried a similar system with Mademoiselle d'Orleans.

went sometimes after dinner, and always on the eves of the great festivals, frequently remaining several days together. On such occasions she only took two or three ladies with her, and very few domestics. With these ladies she partook the meagre fare of the convent, attended the chapel at all the offices of the day, and often of the night; and besides these offices, remained for hours in private prayers, and fasted rigorously on the days appointed by the Church.

Two Carmelite nuns, possessing considerable talents, and well acquainted with the world, had the charge of receiving and entertaining her. One was very handsome, and the other was not without pretensions to beauty. They were very young, especially the handsome one, but very religious and pious, attending on the duchess much against their inclinations. When they became a little intimate, they spoke freely to the princess, and told her that, if they knew nothing more of her but what they saw, they should admire her as a saint; but that they had learned from other quarters the strange life she led, and so publicly, that they could not comprehend what induced her to visit their convent. Madame de Berri merely laughed, and showed no resentment. Sometimes they lectured her more directly, mentioning persons and things by name, and exhorting her to abandon her scandalous mode of life. Their words were wasted on the wind. The Duchess continued her usual life both at the Carmelites and the Luxembourg, leaving the world to wonder at so surprising a contrast, which, on the side of debauchery, was augmented every day.

All the rudeness the duchess experienced from her lover she retaliated on her father, who hardly durst refuse her any request, however unreasonable. He permitted her to close the gardens of the Luxembourg against the public. To gratify her, he abridged the term of court mournings, to the great delight of the shopkeepers of Paris. He purchased for her a summer residence in the Bois de Boulogne; permitted her to double the salaries of La Mouchy and Rion; and finally conferred on the latter the government of Cognac. Soon after, she obtained Meudon in exchange for her castle of Amboise, and gave the charge of it to her insatiable favorite. She also renewed her efforts to obtain the honors of royalty at the opera; and when the Venetian ambassador visited her, assumed all the state of a queen, equally to his surprise and indignation.

The whole diplomatic body in Paris protested against this last usurpation; and declared that if it were renewed they would abstain from visiting the duchess. So strange a life of extreme

haughtiness and extreme servility;—of austere seclusion in the convent of the Carmelites, and impious entertainments to infidel debauchees;—of the wildest licentiousness and the most terrible fear of death and futurity—was suddenly interrupted by illness. The duchess was pregnant; the time for her confinement drew nigh, and the precautions she had taken to conceal her condition had endangered her life. So imminent was her state, that the curate of St. Sulpice was summoned to administer the last rites of the church, but he refused to give the sacrament to the princess until La Mouchy and Rion had been dismissed from the Luxembourg. It was in vain that the regent endeavored to change the clergyman's determination: Cardinal de Noailles was summoned, but he supported the curate, and declared his reasons aloud. The princess not only refused to comply with the demand, but hurled furious invectives against all who dared to mention it. This indecent scene was protracted for four days in the presence of a crowd of courtiers, but at length the physician announced that the princess had been delivered of a daughter, and that all danger was over.

La Mouchy and Rion had been much alarmed at the danger to which they had been exposed: there remained but one hope of safety, the immediate marriage of the duchess with Rion; and to this the princess, whom the threats of the curate and cardinal had filled with terror, readily consented. The ceremony was privately performed, before she was able to quit her bed, and soon after she removed to Meudon, trusting that a change of air would restore her health.

Her marriage grievously wounded the regent; he knew that she would urge him publicly to recognize her husband, and to prevent such a scandal, he sent Rion a peremptory order immediately to join his regiment, which formed part of the army under the Duke of Berwick, on the Spanish frontier. Rion obeyed; but it was not until several days after his departure that the regent ventured to visit Meudon.

The duchess, who saw that her influence over her father had been shaken, resolved by a bold effort to recover her power, and at the same time to silence the reports of her recent confinement, which circulated through Paris. She invited him to a supper, *al-fresco*, on the terrace of Meudon, at seven o'clock in the evening, and assembled the dissipated guests most suited to his taste. The evening proved cold and chilly, and the duchess was excited by wine and rage at her father's refusal to acknowledge her marriage. She was seized with spasms that very night; and on the next day

she was removed to the Château la Muette, which was near Paris. The fatal banquet had been given on the evening of the 13th of May, 1709: during the remainder of that month and the entire of the next, the duchess gradually declined, but it was not until the night of the 14th of July that the physicians began to fear that her disease was mortal. For a time she maintained her ancient pride. The sacraments were administered to her with all the ceremonies reserved for queens, and she presented La Mouchy with a casket of jewels, valued at two hundred thousand crowns. On hearing this, the regent compelled La Mouchy to surrender the casket, of which he took possession, and forbade her to visit the duchess again. Delivered from the injurious presence of this favorite, Madame de Berri seemed to adopt sentiments more suited to her state. She received the sacrament a second time, with piety and humility, and paid marked attention to the prayers and exhortations of her confessor. She died at midnight, July 21st, and was buried privately at St. Denis.* Almost the only person who sincerely mourned her death, was the Duke of Orleans, and his grief was aggravated by the reflection, that her profligate life and premature death were chiefly caused by his neglect of the duties of a father.

Madame la Mouchy and her husband were banished from Paris,† but they had previously secured large sums from the pillage of the princess.‡ Rion suffered more from disappointed ambition than from grief. At the end of the campaign he sold his regiment and government. As he had not shown himself too much elated during the period of his prosperity, his friends remained faithful to him, and showed him every possible attention. He sank, however, into obscurity, and is said never again to have visited Paris.

The Duchess of Orleans and Madame exhibited little sorrow

* "There was so much difficulty in determining what to say, and what to leave unsaid in her funeral sermon, that it was at length resolved to omit it altogether."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† "See what a race favorites are! They robbed and pillaged this poor princess in the most horrible way. La Mouchy, who was first in her favor, did not exhibit grief for a single instant: she was seen playing the flute at her window. On the day of the funeral she went to a great dinner at Paris, where she ate and drank as if nothing had happened; and at the same time vented some impertinent stories, which greatly scandalized the company. My son has ordered that she and her husband shall quit Paris."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

‡ "La Mouchy and her lover, Rion, had fine plunder; they had false keys, and left the poor duchess without a penny."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

for the death of Madame de Berri. The former had, in fact, been habitually insulted by her daughter, and could not therefore be expected to feel grief; the latter almost rejoiced at an event that prevented any public recognition of the marriage with Rion,* which would have almost broken the heart of a princess, who attached so much importance to family quarterings and princely birth.†

CHAPTER XI.

THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF EUROPE ON THE ACCESSION OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS TO THE REGENCY.—GEORGE I. OF ENGLAND.—LORD TOWNSHEND.—LORD STANHOPE.—SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.—ALBERONI.—A BRIEF MEMOIR OF HIM.—THE TURKISH WAR.—RUSSIA A EUROPEAN STATE.—CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN.—FREDERICK VI. OF DENMARK.—HOLLAND.—SAVOY.—BAVARIA.—POLICY OF FRANCE.

We are about to pass from the details of private life into the less interesting but more important history of those political transactions which, at the beginning of the last century, irresistibly determined and predestined the terrible catastrophe which marked its close. The Regency was the parent of the Revolution. When Philip Egalité voted for the death of Louis XVI. and the abolition of the monarchy, he only consummated the work of destruction his grandsire had begun. As the most sudden and important changes made by the regent were those he effected in the foreign relations of France, it will be necessary to take a brief but general survey of the political condition of Europe at the time of his accession to power.

* "Rion was not here when Madame de Berri died; he was with the army, in command of the regiment which had been purchased for him. When the news of the death of the Princess reached the army, the Prince of Condé sought out Rion, and sang for him this verse of the old song:

'The cow is dead which gave good milk,
So say no more about her.'

My own son was greatly vexed when he heard of it, but he has resolved to pass it over without notice."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† "She was secretly married to Rion, and that consoles me for her loss."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

Europe had just been delivered by the treaty of Utrecht from the tedious and wasting war of the Spanish succession; the war had left a lassitude behind it which made all nations weary of battles; peace was the universal desire; and yet there was something abnormal in the condition of every cabinet, something exceptional in almost every state, which produced strange complications and perplexities in all diplomatic negotiations. George I. had just been raised to the throne of England by the Whigs, in conformity to the law passed for the regulation of the Protestant succession. Born at Osnabruck, May 28, 1660, he had passed his fifty-fourth year when he landed on the shores of England. He knew little of the language, and less of the constitution of the country: his ideas and habits of thought were essentially German. His great principle was, that a monarch raised to the throne by a revolution, should not be a national king, but merely the sovereign of the party to which he was indebted for his elevation. Hence the Whigs ruled supreme under his reign. From the time he received the crown from the Archbishop of Canterbury in Westminster Abbey, he placed himself entirely at the disposal of the Whigs—was equally ready to gratify their interests and their passions, and joined with them in the questionable prosecution of the Tory ministers of Queen Anne.*

The nominal leader of the new ministry was Charles, Viscount Townshend, principal Secretary of State. On taking his seat in the House of Lords, he joined the Tory party; but his more matured convictions led him to act with the Whigs, and he especially attached himself to Lord Somers. He did not, however, take any prominent part in politics until the year 1709, when he was appointed joint plenipotentiary with Marlborough to negotiate a peace at the abortive conference of Gertruydenburg; and at the close of the same year he was appointed ambassador to the States General of Holland. In this capacity he concluded the Barrier Treaty so much to the satisfaction of the Dutch statesmen, that Heinsius and others strongly recommended him to the notice of George I.†

* "George I. thought that the Emperor of Germany had been betrayed by the English negotiators, and he had exerted all his influence as Elector of Hanover to prevent or delay the treaty of Utrecht. In persecuting the negotiators of that treaty, he believed that he was only loyally fulfilling his duty as an electoral prince to the head of the Germanic Empire."—Lord Mahon's *History of England*, vol. i.

† "His mind was frank and open; his intentions generous and honorable. To both his wives he was a most kind husband; to all his children a most

But the chief leaders of the Whig party were Lord Stanhope and Sir Robert Walpole. The Duke of Marlborough had become old and sickly, and he was not less incapacitated from resuming his former position by health than by his suspected negotiations with the Pretender,* James. Earl Stanhope, descended from an ancient family in the county of Nottingham, had entered early into political life under the auspices of his father, the confidential friend of William III., and his Ambassador in Spain. His infancy was spent in the cities of Castille and Andalusia;† and, while yet a youth, he had traveled through France, Italy, and Germany. At the age of eighteen he served in Flanders, under William III., by whom he was raised, on the field of battle, to the rank of colonel. As was usual in England, then to a greater extent than now, he combined parliamentary with military pursuits, having been elected at the age of twenty-two for the borough of Cockermouth. He served in Spain as a general of brigade, under the chivalrous Earl of Peterborough, subsequently became a major-general, and was taken prisoner by Vendôme at Brihuega. In parliament he distinguished himself as the leader of the Whig opposition, against the ministry of Harley, Earl of Oxford. Before he was taken prisoner at Brihuega, he had borne an active part in the prosecution of Doctor Sacheverell, whose liberation

affectionate father; and to his servants a benevolent master: 'sure tests of real good nature,' adds Lord Chesterfield, 'for no man can long together simulate or dissimulate at home.' Unfortunately, this amiable disposition was joined with a manner coarse and rough even to brutality. He was imperious and overbearing, impatient of contradiction, and extremely tenacious of preconceived opinions. On one occasion we find him candidly own that he knew himself to be 'extremely warm.' From this disposition, combined with the influence of Walpole over him, he was at one period betrayed into a very reckless and unjustifiable course of opposition; and the same temper sometimes led him to opinions, or, at least to expressions, ill suited to constitutional monarchy. 'His lordship,' writes his private secretary, in 1716, 'thinks it the great misfortune of this government that our kings cannot always act up to what they judge right, but must be often obliged to have regard to the humor of their subjects.'"—Lord Mahon's *History of England*, vol. i.

"* It appears from the Stuart Papers, that whilst Marlborough continued —at least in name—commander-in-chief of the British army, he sent a sum of money to France as a loan to the Pretender just before the rebellion of 1715, which this money no doubt assisted in raising."—Lord Mahon's *History*, vol. i.

† "He was born at Paris in 1673, and from his birth abroad it became necessary to pass a bill for his naturalization in 1696."—Lord Mahon's *History*, vol. i.

was one of the consequences of the Treaty of Utrecht,* to which the earl was violently opposed, warmly resisting its ratification by parliament.† The ministers vainly sought to retaliate;‡ Stanhope held them at defiance, and shook their power to its base by his opposition to the Schism Bill, the most important act of Lord Bolingbroke's administration.

Lord Stanhope, thus occupying a leading position among the Whigs, naturally became a strenuous advocate for the Hanoverian succession in the person of George I., by whom he was made secretary of state and member of the privy council.

We have already mentioned that, through the intervention of the able Dubois, he had become acquainted with Philip of Orleans, at Paris; and the consequence of that intimacy was, that when he became minister, he was the chief agent of that connection which linked the future course of the Orleans regency with the policy of the English Whigs. It must be added, that Lord Stanhope was one of the most enlightened, and perhaps the most erudite, statesman of his day. He translated several of the minor poems attributed to Homer, and published the best account, even now, existing of the constitution of the Roman Senate.§ Sir Robert Walpole, destined to make a deeper impression on his age than either of the statesmen just mentioned, was the second son of a

* "Your return," wrote Walpole to him, "is the only good effect that I ever hoped from our celebrated peace."—Lord Mahon's *History*, vol. i.

† "Even before his arrival in England, he had taken an opportunity of publicly showing his aversion for the treaty then in progress, by declining an introduction to Louis XIV. when offered by Lord Bolingbroke at Fontainebleau—a refusal then much noticed, and considered by the Tory administration as an insult to themselves."—Lord Mahon's *History*, vol. i.

‡ "Their animosity led them to appoint some commissioners, at the head of whom was Shippen, to sift and examine all his payments of late years in Spain, as envoy-extraordinary or commander-in-chief; and if possible to establish some charge against his character, or some claim upon his fortune. It was proved, however, from Stanhope's accounts and explanations, that, far from his owing the government anything, he had left them his debtors; and I find it stated in his family papers, that he thereupon claimed and received the balance, which it had otherwise been his intention to relinquish. It is added, that soon afterwards, meeting Shippen in the House of Commons, he went up and thanked him for the pecuniary benefit which he had thus derived from the hostility of the commission."—Lord Mahon's *History*, vol. i.

His lordship ought to have borne testimony to the political integrity and equity of "honest Shippen" in this investigation.

§ Vertot has drawn largely from this dissertation in his "Revolutions Romaines;" and Hooke has inserted it at full length in the third volume of his Roman History.

country gentleman in the county of Norfolk.* He was educated for the church, but, on the death of his elder brother, he was permitted to indulge his inclination for political life. He entered Parliament as member for King's Lynn, and at once identified himself with the Whigs. When the Tories, under Harley, came into power, Walpole was accused of sharing in the peculations in Flanders, attributed to the Duke of Marlborough; and with the violence which then characterized party spirit, he was expelled from parliament and committed to the tower. "His sentence, far from impairing his character, raised his reputation. He was regarded as a martyr by his party, and lauded as martyrs real or fancied always are."† When, after the succession of George I., the re-action commenced against the Tories, Walpole took the lead in repaying them in their own coin, and with interest. Lord Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond were compelled to fly to the continent, and the Earl of Oxford was committed to the tower on a charge of high treason. But this result was rather a triumph of party tactics than an expression of the national will: the great majority of the people of England, united with the Tories in supporting the ascendency of the established church, and demanded the exclusion of dissenters from political power. But in times even of violent party strife, it is not easy to agitate the masses; multitudes are influenced more by social than by political questions, and agitators can rarely set them in motion, unless aided by the pressure of distress, by diminution of wages, or deficiency of employment. Parties were allowed to fight out their battle in England without the intervention of the people. The Whigs committed the most arbitrary acts in the name of liberty, and the Tories pressed the most republican principles into the service of arbitrary power. There was an excess of effervescence, which must have found vent either in political intrigues or in the renewal of war.

Spain was fast recovering her tranquillity after the long and wasting wars of the Succession; the Catalans, who, even when abandoned by the allies, had maintained for some months a stern and desperate resistance to the Bourbons, had at length been finally subdued, and treated with a rigor which effectually checked

* He was born August 26th, 1676.

† Lord Mahon's *History*, vol. i. Swift at this time underrated Walpole. In one of his satirical lampoons, he says:—

"You'll then defy the strongest Whig,
With both his hands to bend a twig,
Though with united strength they all pull,
From Somers down to Craggs and Walpole."

the power, if not the disposition, to renew the revolt. There was no longer a German party in Castille. The Court of Vienna, indeed, maintained a few agents in Catalonia and Valencia, but even they found the people unwilling to renew a contest for the Germanic dynasty. In the recent struggle they had lost their *fueros* and their municipal franchises; and though, doubtless, discontented, they had suffered too much to renew a strife which had already cost them so dear. They therefore resigned themselves, however reluctantly, to the new government of Philip V. This prince, as has been stated in a former chapter, after the death of his first queen, had dismissed his powerful favorite, the Princess d'Ursins, and had taken for his second wife Elizabeth Farnese, Princess of Parma, and for his second favorite the celebrated Alberoni.

Julius Alberoni was born on the 30th March, 1654, and was the son of a poor peasant in the neighborhood of Parma. The handsomeness of the boy procured him a situation in the choir of the cathedral of Parma. Thence he was promoted to the rank of canon and chaplain to the Bishop of St. Donnin, at a time when that prelate had to treat for the safety of his countrymen with the French army, commanded by the Duc de Vendôme. Alberoni attracted the notice of the duke; and as further acquaintance showed him that the young abbé possessed extraordinary intelligence, enterprise, and spirit, he took care to make his merits known, and it was chiefly through Vendôme's interest that Alberoni was chosen by the Duke of Parma to negotiate the marriage of his daughter with Philip V. at the Court of Madrid. The disgrace of the Princess d'Ursins was the first fruit of his intrigue,* and immediately after her removal he became a member of the Council of Castille, which he soon directed as prime minister. He acquired his ascendency by responding to the great and dominant ideas of the Spanish monarchy—the recovery of its Italian provinces, and the securing for Philip V. the succession to the throne of France.

The stipulations of the Treaty of Utrecht had transferred to the Emperor of Germany the Milanese, Naples, Sardinia, and Tuscany, which had previously been grand fiefs of the Spanish monarchy. Sicily, by the same treaty, had been ceded to the Duke of Savoy, who had established his laws and government over the great feudal barons of that island. An intrigue, how-

* Diario d'Ubella, 1714–16.

ever, with Madame de Verrue,* made him reluctant to quit Savoy; and for the sake of a mistress he risked a kingdom, and one more coveted by Spain than even the fiefs in the Italian peninsula. These cessions of territory had not been of a nature to please the cabinet of Madrid, which, in fact, had never ratified the arrangement: the hope had never been abandoned of recovering these fine provinces, either by conquest or by diplomatic negotiations. This was the secret object sought by the marriage of Philip V. to a princess of Parma; and the assistance which Alberoni was able and willing to render towards the success of this object was the chief cause of the ascendancy the Italian abbé acquired in the court of Madrid.

Alberoni also directed his earnest attention to the question of the succession in France. The council of Castille would not admit the renunciation of his hereditary rights by Philip V. to be definitive. The Spanish lawyers maintained that there could be no absolute renunciation of succession to a crown; whence it followed that the King of Spain's right to the regency, or eventually to the throne of France, was stronger than that of the Duke of Orleans. Louis XIV. had made Spain an auxiliary of France; the policy of Alberoni tended to the opposite result—its purpose was to render the court of Paris completely dependent upon that of Madrid.

The occult designs of Spain were chiefly directed against the German empire. Charles VI., who, as archduke, had been crowned King of Spain, had succeeded his brother in the empire, and had received the crown of Hungary at Presburg, and the iron crown of the old Lombard kings at Milan.† But though

* Madame the Countess de Verrue was married at the age of thirteen. When the King of Sardinia fell in love with her, she resisted his advances, and wrote to her mother and husband, both of whom were absent, on the subject. They derided her scruples, and she became the king's mistress. They lived very unhappily together, quarreling almost every day. At length, she took advantage of the king's absence on a journey, to arrange a plan for making her escape in company with her brother, the Chevalier de Luynes. The rendezvous was fixed at a chapel some miles from Turin, whither the lady brought her favorite parrot. They set out; but when they had gone several miles, the lady discovered that she had lost her parrot, and, notwithstanding the danger to which she exposed her brother, insisted that they should return in quest of it. The delay nearly proved ruinous to her plan. Madame de Verrue died at Paris in the beginning of the reign of Louis XV. She was a favorite in the principal fashionable and literary circles under the regency, and was usually called the "Lady of Pleasure."

† Napoleon was also crowned with the iron circlet of the Lombard kings at Milan.

he had ratified the treaty of Rastadt,* concluded between the Marshal de Villars and Prince Eugène, he nourished a vague hope of recovering Spain, just as Philip V. did of regaining Italy. The renunciations on both sides had been equally insincere; hence arose the marked anxiety of Charles VI. to enter into the closest bonds of alliance with Holland and England, so as to secure for himself a stable diplomatic position in the possible progress of events. The accession of George I. greatly strengthened the alliance between England and the empire; for George, who felt more as an Elector of Germany than as a King of England, regarded the emperor as his feudal sovereign, to whom he was bound by every principle of loyalty and allegiance. The empire, however, was exposed to serious danger by a new invasion of the Ottomans. Venice, which the Turks menaced with utter ruin, had made a solemn appeal to the empire: the Diet had convoked all the princes and nobles of Germany to enrol themselves under the banner of Prince Eugène, the chosen champion of Christendom. A sanguinary war was inevitable. Ahmed III. announced that he would stable his horses in the Venetian palace of St. Mark, and review his cavalry in the Prater of Vienna. All the forces and the whole attention of the empire were engaged by the Turkish war, and the cabinet of Madrid was about to take advantage of the crisis, and make a bold move in Italy, when the victories gained by Prince Eugène over the Turks delivered the empire from its dangers, and checked the first ambitious designs of Alberoni.

A new power had risen in Europe: Russia, which had been hitherto as isolated from European diplomacy as if it had been a remote power of Asia, was now beginning to make itself an important element in diplomacy. The Czar Peter had accomplished an unexampled work of government and civilization. But though he had conquered Charles XII. at Pultowa, and delivered his empire from the Swedes, his southern provinces were menaced by the Turks, by whose agency the Swedish monarch, then a voluntary exile at Bender, hoped to retrieve all his disasters. Peter's Turkish campaign was disastrous: on the banks of the Pruth he must have surrendered at discretion to the Grand Vizier, Baltagi Mohammed, had not the Czarina Catherine contrived to open negotiations which enabled Peter to obtain peace by the cession of the fortress of Azov, and by the discreet distribution of bribes in the

* The treaty of Rastadt was a supplement to that of Utrecht, and is rarely quoted separately.—*See* Heeren's *State System*, vol. ii.

Turkish camp. The Czar then marched his armies into Finland, and conquered the whole province in a single campaign. He thus developed to all Europe that the predominant idea of the Russian monarchy was to establish its supremacy in the Baltic and Black Seas, so as to secure safe outlets for its productions at the two extremes of Europe. Peter's wars did not divert his attention from the consolidation of his empire; for no one was more firmly convinced of the great truth, that a nation must be at unity within itself before it can possess its due weight in diplomacy.*

The military follies and extravagances of Charles XII., had deprived Sweden of the noble mediatorial position she had held during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Every State which, by the agency of some violent impulse, passes the limits of its natural dominions, is eventually forced back by an inevitable reaction. No nation had held a prouder position than Sweden, when all Europe bowed to her decisions on the laws of nations, pronounced by such jurists as Grotius and Puffendorf. But Charles XII. had disregarded the laws of nations in his invasions of Poland and Russia, and had acted as if all considerations reverenced by mankind must give way before the iron strength of his individual will. Pultowa saw the star of his glory set for ever: he fled a helpless exile into Turkey, where he long flattered himself with the vain hope of leading an Ottoman army to the walls of Moscow. Foiled in this expectation, he actually defied the Sultan in his own dominions, and compelled the Turks forcibly to secure him amid the flames of his palace at Bender. He returned to Sweden to fight new battles, and to defend Pomerania against the invasions of the Danes and Prussians. France secretly sustained Sweden in this war, and sent subsidies to recruit the exhausted finances of Charles. One of the last acts of the financial administration of Louis XIV., had been the transmission of a large sum of money to Stockholm for the support of the war maintained by Sweden against Prussia and Denmark; powers which were regarded as associated with the English Revolution of

* Towards the close of Louis XIV.'s reign, it was proposed in the council of foreign affairs, to transfer to Russia the subsidies previously paid to Sweden. A negotiation for this purpose was commenced by M. de Châteauneuf, at the Hague. After the peace of Utrecht, Louis XIV. was persuaded that an alliance between France and Russia was necessary to counterbalance the diplomatic influence of England.—*See Correspondence de M. Châteauneuf*, 1714–16.

1688, and the course of Anti-Gallican policy pursued by the Whigs.*

Denmark was at this time ruled by Frederic VI., who had some pretensions to the title of a philosopher, as the term was understood in his day. He had concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Russia and Poland, against Sweden. But Poland, once more placed under the government of Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony, had too many intestine distractions to be capable of making any great exertions; the party of Stanislaus Leczinski, of the glorious race of Sobieski, was not yet extinct; and the chivalrous fidelity with which Stanislaus had adhered to the King of Sweden, under every vicissitude of fortune, had given a dramatic interest to his own reverses, and all Europe sympathized with his firmness and resolution, which were displayed under the most adverse circumstances. Frederic William II. was King of Prussia. He belonged to the camp rather than to the court; his predominant notion was that of forming all his subjects into one vast regiment, and ruling them by military despotism. The royalty of the house of Brandenburg was of recent date; it was closely connected with the interests of Protestantism, and the English Revolution of 1688; but Prussia, poor and destitute of commerce, was a country which could only be led by subsidies; it might follow, but it could not originate, any great military movement.

Holland was intimately in accord with the interests and the success of the English Whigs. Since the treaty of Utrecht the States-general had organized a great defensive system against France, sanctioned by the Barrier Treaty, which authorized the Dutch to garrison several strong places in Flanders, which had been ceded to the Empire. The merchants of the Hague, and of Amsterdam, had preserved disquieting reminiscences of that brilliant chivalry which menaced their stores and counting-houses, in the youthful days of Louis XIV. To avert the recurrence of such dangers, they had stipulated for a strongly fortified frontier, on which they could check any ambitious movements of France. This system being connected with the military organization of the Austrian Netherlands, and also with the English demand for the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk, necessitated a military union of Holland, England, and the Empire, but purely for defens-

* Charles XII. was no favorite with the cotemporary press of England and Holland: all notices of his proceedings between 1715–17, in the journals of both countries, are written in a style of mockery and derision.

ive purposes, against France. In fact, Holland had made too many sacrifices during the war of the succession, and had suffered too severely to court a renewal of hostilities. Holland, indeed, was placed in antagonism to France, but was, at the same time, averse from war; a situation not at all uncommon in the diplomatic relations of governments with each other.

The European states of the second rank naturally gravitated towards the great powers. At the south-western extremity of the continent of Europe, Portugal, possessing the most tranquil of climates, and the most turbulent of populations, had almost sunk into insignificance. John V. had zealously supported the allies during the war of the succession against Philip V.; but his power was almost crushed by the battle of Almanza, and may be said to have been saved from annihilation by the treaty of Utrecht. More closely connected with England by commercial relations than formal treaties, Portugal preserved a strict neutrality, and feared to compromise herself by new wars. But there was hardly a potentate in Europe who was more alarmed by the projects of Alberoni than John V. If the Spanish monarchy could have been ever restored to its ancient strength and preponderance in Europe, it is doubtful whether all the assistance which England was ready to render, could have preserved the independence of Portugal.

Savoy may be said to have been placed in the same relation to France that Portugal held to Spain. Victor Amadeus was probably the greatest gainer by the treaty of Utrecht, which not only restored him his ancient possessions, but gave him the throne of Sicily; a gift he was subsequently compelled to exchange for that of Sardinia. His power had been thus strengthened, in order that Savoy should be the barrier of Italy, against the enterprise and ambition of the French. Piedmont, and its granite mountains, could be defended against a vast force by a small number of soldiers, disciplined and commanded by such an able general as the Duke of Savoy. The keys of Italy were intrusted to safe hands: all the great powers caressed Victor Amadeus, so that an addition of territory was the least part of the influence he acquired by the treaty of Utrecht.

In the general pacification of Europe, the House of Bavaria was restored to its Germanic possessions. Maximilian Emmanuel preserved his intimate political connection with France, from which he reserved subsidies; but he was not unfaithful to the Empire, for he was organizing a fine army to aid in the defence of Hungary against the Turks. Saxony was raised in importance by the ele-

vation of its sovereign to the crown of Poland, and so was Hanover by the accession of its elector to the throne of Great Britain; the only other State that need be noticed is Wurtemberg, which derived some importance from its duke holding the command of the armies of the Empire.

From this general survey of Europe, it appears that two very different systems of foreign policy were open to France: the former the great old alliance, formed by Louis XIV., of France and Spain, against England, Holland, the Empire, and the principles of the English Revolution of 1688; a diplomatic idea, which Louis XIV. had spent his life in realizing, and the maintenance of which was one of the objects expressly set down in his will. This idea may be said to have been represented by the Marquis de Torcy, and the council of the regency. The second was an entire change in the policy of the late king; a union of France with Holland, the Empire and England, in support of the principles of the Whigs and the Revolution of 1688, against the menaced ascendancy of Spain. This system was represented by Cardinal Dubois, with the Duke of Orleans as unrestricted regent. The struggle, then, we are about to investigate, involved not merely the rival factions of the legitimated princes and the Duke of Orleans; its importance was not even confined to France itself; it involved the interests and the destinies of all the principal States of Europe.

CHAPTER XII.

POLITICAL ASPECT OF FRANCE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REGENCY.—ETIQUETTE OF THE PRECEDING COURT.—THE PARLIAMENT.—ITS SEVERAL FUNCTIONS.—DISCIPLINE OF PARIS IN 1715.—ITS POPULATION.—THEIR CONDITION AND POLITICAL FEELINGS.—THE BULL "UNIGENITUS."—THE JANSENISTS AND THE JESUITS.—LITERATURE IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.—AROUET (VOLTAIRE).—FONTENELLE.—JEAN BAPTISTE ROUSSEAU.—STATE OF MANNERS OF THE COURT AND OF THE PEOPLE.—THE HOUSEHOLD TROOPS.—HOW THEY WERE REGARDED BY THE CITIZENS.—THE EARL OF STAIR AND THE PRINCE DE CELLAMARE.—THEIR CHARACTERS DESCRIBED.—PARTY OF THE DUC DE ST. SIMON.

UNDER the long reign of Louis XIV., Paris had become France: the country was absorbed by the capital, and the capital

by the court. The Bastile itself was not more dreaded by the nobility than a royal command to them to retire to their estates, and live remote from the sunshine of the court, and the amusements of the metropolis. Everything connected with the monarch had been invested with a dramatic importance. He dressed, disrobed, and dined in public; men of the highest rank contended for the privilege of rendering him what we should regard as menial services; it was deemed a high honor to be allowed to hand him his shirt when he rose, and his night-dress when he was retiring to rest.* Such refinement of etiquette could not be applied to Louis XV., a child only five years and a half old; but even he was exhibited to the court in the trappings of royalty: the Duchess de Ventadour led him by a silk sash into the circle of courtiers. He wore a close-fitting dress of violet, the color appropriated to royal mourning; on his head of curling hair he wore a round and broad-brimmed hat, with floating plumes; a white scarf girt his waist and hung down to his satin shoes, which

* Saint Simon details all these particulars at great length; but it will be sufficient to quote the account of the king's rising: "At eight o'clock in the morning, the first valet de chambre on duty, who had slept alone in the king's chamber, and who had dressed himself, woke him. The chief doctor, the chief surgeon, and his nurse, as long as she lived, entered at the same time. She used to kiss him; the others rubbed him and often changed his shirt, as he was subject to perspiration. At a quarter past eight, the great chamberlain, or, in his absence, the first gentleman of the chamber for the year, along with him the grand entrées, appeared. One of these two drew the curtain, which was closed, and presented holy water from the bénitur by the bedside. These gentlemen remained a moment and spoke to the king, when they had anything to say to him or ask of him, and then the others withdrew. When they had nothing to say, as was usual, they remained but a few moments. He who had drawn the curtain and presented the holy water, offered the prayer-book of the Saint Esprit, then both passed into the council-chamber. The short prayers said, the king called them, and they returned. The same one gave him his *robe de chambre*, and, at the same time, the second entrées, or those who had audiences for affairs, came in: in a few moments the members of the chamber appeared, then the most distinguished persons, then every one, while the king was putting on his shoes, for he used to do almost all himself with address and grace. He was seen shaving himself every second day, and he wore a short, little wig, without which he never appeared in public. He often spoke of the chase, and sometimes addressed an observation to a bystander. He had no toilette before him, nothing but a looking-glass, which was held for him. As soon as he was dressed, he prayed by the side of his bed, and all the clergy present knelt down, the cardinals without cushions. The laity remained standing, and the captain of the guards came to the balustrade during the prayer, after which the king passed into his cabinet."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxi.

were adorned with rosettes of diamonds. Traces of sickness and suffering were visible on his countenance; few who saw him believed that his life would be prolonged; whilst the rest looked forward to a period when his death would be the signal for civil war, and when the succession to the throne of France would be contested by Philip of Spain and Philip of Orleans.

The organization of the monarchy, under Louis XIV., presented an aggregation of institutions, all of which were designed to maintain the despotic power of the king. The parliament had been wholly restricted to judicial functions: it had not even the right of remonstrance before registering edicts; it was bound to yield implicit submission to the letters patent of the king. At the death of Louis XIV., it consisted of sixty-two members, and was divided into three chambers. The first, or grand chamber, discussed affairs of State, and political arrangements; the second, called *La Chambre des Enquêtes*, took cognizance of appeals from the *Châtelet*, and other inferior jurisdictions; the third, *La Chambre des Tournelles*, was composed of stern and austere magistrates, who examined prisoners by the rack or other forms of torture. At the bar of each of these chambers, the royal officers attended to witness the registration of royal edicts, and to tender advice in the name of the sovereign.

As a political agency, the Parliament was divided into three very distinct sections. We must first notice the clerical councilors selected from the ecclesiastical body. In the middle ages—those days of chivalry and barbarism, of prowess and ignorance, when the barons could not read a charter, or write their own names—the noble warriors had been compelled to invite the clergy, the only educated persons of the time, to aid them in deciding causes and registering edicts. Their superior learning enabled the clergy, by degrees, to engross the chief power of the state; but the civil wars of the League had been fatal to their ascendancy, and from the time that Henry IV. had been secure on the throne, the influence of the hierarchy in the Parliament had continued to decline. Next to the clergy were the lawyers or civil councilors, almost all of whom had sprung from the middle class, being sons of barristers or notaries. The history of such jurists as Aguesseau, Joly de Fleury, Lamoignon, Pasquier, Molé, and the President de Mesmes, shows them to have been the sons of inferior members of the legal profession. Few were descended from illustrious houses; for who was the young noble that did not prefer the plumed helmet and brilliant mail of the warrior to

the mortar-cap* and red robe of the Parliament? All these presidents and civil councilors were men of intelligence and erudition, proud of their profession, banded together by mutual interests, and anxious to perpetuate their professional dignity in their families. It was a prerogative of race to have had a seat in Parliament, and those seats were as regularly purchased as estates.

Independently of the clerical members and judicial functionaries, there was a Parliament of nobles who sat as dukes and peers: the duchy-peerages were nominated by the king, and gave the right of sitting in Parliament, to certain fiefs hereditary in great families.† But they only used this privilege on occasions of great solemnity, because otherwise there would have been eternal disputes about precedents and prerogatives. It was an exhaustless subject of controversy to decide whether coronets should hold the first rank, or whether they were to be placed side by side with the mortar-caps.‡ Then it was also a moot-point whether dukes and peers should wear their swords during the parliamentary session, and whether their chief should wear his hat as the civil president did his mortar-cap. It must have been a brilliant spectacle to see the old French Parliament assembled;§ the councilors in their scarlet robes: the dukes and peers in gorgeous mantles, laced gauntlets, and plumed hats, from which escaped the lappets of enormous periwigs, similar to that worn by the speaker of the English House of Commons.‖

The union of clerical and lay councilors with the dukes and peers, caused lawyers to assert that the Parliament represented

* Instead of the wig worn by our barristers, the French advocates wear a black cap, precisely like an inverted apothecary's mortar: hence its name.

† It will no doubt interest some readers to have an exact list of the duchy-peerages established by Louis XIV. The right of sitting in Parliament was given to the Dues d'Uzés, de Montbazon, de la Tremouille, de Sully, de Saint Simon, de la Rochefoucauld, de la Force, de Rohan, d'Albret, de Perrey-Luxembourg, d'Estrées, de Grammont, de la Mulleraiè, de Montemart, de Noailles, d'Aumont, de Charost, de Villars, de Harcourt, de Fitz-James, d'Antin, de Chaulnes, de Rohan-Rohan, de Richelieu, and de Beauvilliers.

‡ Nearly one-half of the Memoirs of Saint Simon is occupied by these discussions.

§ The description we have given of the French Parliament is taken from a fine old print in the national collection at Paris.

‖ Capefigue whimsically suggests that these periwigs were designed to perpetuate the memory of the ancient Franks, who were equally remarkable for their love of liberty and their long hair.

the three orders of the states-general, and that it ought to have all their legislative prerogatives. Countless volumes were written on the subject: "privilege of Parliament" was a watchword and rallying cry in France, which all the authority of Louis XIV. was unable to stifle. The example of England was contagious; men involuntarily compared the Parliament at Westminster, with the mockery that held its sittings in the Palais de Justice; and the impulse given to such ideas by the great revolution of 1688, was one of the chief causes of the intense hatred with which Louis XIV. regarded that event and all its consequences. If the French did not openly demand the free discussion of all political affairs, they insisted on their right to remonstrate, and to refuse the registration of edicts, an ancient privilege claimed by all the Parliaments of France.*

If we except this jurisdiction of the Parliament, everything connected with the administration of justice was subject to the royal will and pleasure. The Court of Exchequer, the great and little *châtelet*, even the seneschal and manor courts, received their impulse and direction from the chancellor and keeper of the great seal. Justices of the peace, or rather the functionaries who performed the duties which devolved on justices of the peace in England, were entirely dependent on the minister for the home department.† The military governors and lords-lieutenant of the provinces were under the secretary at war; the police was governed by a lieutenant-general, under the joint jurisdiction of the chancellor and the Parliament. No resistance was possible in any of the degrees of this administrative subordination; the impulse given from the court at Versailles found implicit obedience everywhere; there was no longer any fear of those popular outbreaks and insurrections of *les halles* which enter so largely into the history of all former regencies. So completely, after the wars of the Fronde, had municipal organization been destroyed, that all public meetings of the people were at an end; more than half a century had elapsed since the masses had taken any active part, or even any apparent interest, in political affairs. Louis XIV. had made himself supreme, and had completely stifled every expression of public opinion.

* See the numerous tracts and treatises published by Du Tillet. He appears to have carefully studied all the constitutional points at issue between our Charles I. and the Long Parliament.

† The State departments in France were not exactly divided as in England; but instead of using the French names, we have taken the English offices which most nearly approached the French departments of State.

During the reign of the grand monarch, Paris had been embellished by many great additions to its size and splendor; the large streets of the Marais had been opened, and displayed houses and hotels of a higher order of architecture than had heretofore been applied in the construction of private edifices; the Faubourg Saint Germain, then first united to the city, contained twenty-two large streets, without reckoning the Rue de Sêvres, which was filled with convents and hospitals. Old Paris, from the Rue Montmartre, the headquarters of popular factions in former days, down to the Cité de Notre Dame, had been pierced by several new streets; the Place des Victoires and the Place Vendôme exhibited their brilliant hotels, as if to honor the statue of Louis XIV., which was erected in the former. The inclosure of the city, beginning at the Bastile, was prolonged by the barriers and gates of Ménilmontant, Saint Martin, Saint Denis, Poissonnière, and Montmartre, and was thence continued on the line of the Boulevards to Porte Saint Honoré, which joined the Tuileries. The inclosure of the Faubourg Saint Germain had been thrown down, and was thus united to the district Saint Jacques, and to the hill of Saint Geneviève, which had so long been a favorite place of pilgrimage for the municipality of Paris. From this hill the inclosure* turned down to the isles of Notre Dame and Saint Louis; thus the course of the wall excluded the Faubourg Saint Marceau, and ended at the Bastile in front of the Faubourg Saint Antoine.†

The population of Paris, including the Faubourgs, might have been estimated, in 1715, at half a million. No marked political opinions were manifested by the operatives and the lower classes, although there was, of course, that tendency to agitation and disorder which commonly characterizes men assembled in large masses; but the organization of the police, under the lieutenancy of d'Argenson, had assumed a firmness and consistency which rendered it most efficient both in the prevention and detection of crime. The chains which in a former age separated nightly the quarters of the city had fallen into disuse, and now hung rusty and almost destroyed in the hotel de Grève, under the keys of the lieutenant of police. The great municipal belfry, which had so often sounded the tocsin, and summoned the citizens to defend

* It is now occupied by the Panthéon, sometimes called the Church of St. Geneviève.

† This account was taken by Capefigue from a map of Paris in 1715, preserved in the National Library. It has been compared with the cotemporary plates of the Public Buildings of Paris, in the Fagel Library, Trin. Coll. Dub.

their privileges, was changed into a tranquil clock-tower. The municipal records from 1710 to 1715 contain nothing but ordinances for celebrating festivals, commanded by the king, or for regulating the markets. Not a trace can be discovered of the old turbulent Paris—the city of mobs and factions—the life of the League and of the Fronde: every vestige of its independence had been destroyed.

This servile tranquillity was not changed by the death of Louis XIV. The people received the intelligence with calm indifference, if indeed there was some small emotion in the breasts of the citizens; yet they had never comprehended the system of Louis XIV.: they neither looked for nor appreciated a change in the government, and they saw in the death of the old king additional reasons for the maintenance of peace, and the preservation of public tranquillity: on the whole, perhaps, they may be said to have rejoiced at the removal of a monarch who had compelled them to make such enormous sacrifices for the greatness and the unity of their country.

If Paris, under its municipal provost and the lieutenant of police, gave no alarm to the government, still less was there reason to fear the provinces; apathy or languor was everywhere the characteristic of the public mind. It is seldom that a people, after a long struggle, and continual sacrifices, finds in itself sufficient energy to organize and frame a vigorous and persevering opposition to the silent encroachments of central authority. What could the provinces do against the edicts of the court? Where were the elements of rebellion to be found? The old feudal nobility, once the most active and daring part of the nation, was quite worn out; the iron barons had, for the most part, been changed into silken courtiers; their tenants had ceased to be their vassals; and while they rioted in the luxuries of Paris, all their personal influence in the country was destroyed. In Brittany, in Provence, and in Languedoc, indeed, there were several isolated malcontents, who detested the centralization which had sapped, destroyed, and ruined feudalism; but they had neither the energy nor the knowledge necessary to form a federative union, and, in fact, they were for the most part unknown to each other; so that discontent was confined to individual bosoms.

All constitutional liberty must be based on municipal institutions; but France lost her municipalities before they had fully developed themselves into organized self-governments, and has never since recovered them. Under the monarchy, the republic, the empire, the restoration, and the charter, France has been

without those best securities for rational freedom. Louis XIV. consummated the overthrow of communal independence, and thus prepared the way for Paris to become, what it continues to be, the tyrant of France. The titles of the municipal authorities were merely honorary; sheriffs and consuls received their municipal scarfs, and sometimes titles of nobility, from the hands of the king, but where was to be found a corporation prepared to make such resistance as the town of Rochelle, in the time of the Huguenots?

In fact there existed but one real source of agitation in the public mind; religious controversy had taken the place of political excitement; the bull *Unigenitus*, the ecclesiastical constitution, and the points at issue between the Jansenists and the Jesuits, were the chosen themes of the malcontents. They were discussed everywhere: in the cell of the convent, and in the hall of the court of law; in the privacy of domestic life, and in the public promenade: even ladies neglected the fashions, to discourse upon the freedom of the will, the efficacy of grace, and the hundred and one propositions of Jansenius and Quesnel.* Passion was deeply engaged in this controversy, for it was essentially an expression of the eternal struggle between power and party. Public opinion was deeply excited by the appearance of the smallest pamphlet on these topics; and in spite of a rigid censorship of the press, books in defence of the Jansenists found their way into circulation.† Towards the close of the reign of Louis XIV., the utmost vigilance of the police could not prevent the war of lampoons, epigrams, and satirical squibs, directed against the king and his Jesuit advisers. It was the first signal of the alienation of literature from the worship of royalty. Less than half a century before, literature had been a profession entirely dependent on Louis XIV. Boileau, Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, and Corneille himself, with all his Roman patriotism, had "basked in the golden rays of the sun of Versailles."‡ Odes and eulogies were for the court; satire was directed only against troublesome lawyers, conceited physicians, and disputative priests: a sort of mystic divinity seemed to

* Capefigue declares that he counted the titles of seven hundred volumes or pamphlets on the Jansenist controversy.

† They were for the most part printed at Leyden or the Hague, and smuggled into France. There is a large collection of such works in the Fagel Library, Trin. Coll. Dub.

‡ This phrase is ascribed to Louis XIV. himself; it was one in which it is said he took a singular pleasure, and which, before the days of Madame de Maintenon, he loved to repeat.

hedge the king, and all that belonged to him, even from the harmless darts of the most playful satire.

But under the domination of Madame de Maintenon and the Jesuits, all this had been changed. The men of letters and the poets, no longer received at court, and regarded with suspicion as daring innovators, went into active opposition. The Jesuits could not forgive the Tartuffe; Louis XIV. felt ashamed of the protection which, in his better days, he had afforded the author; and all the wits of Paris made common cause to avenge Molière. Literature, banished from the court, found shelter in the *cafés*, which, both in England and France, were rising into social and political importance. Versailles and Marly, over which the superstition of the aged king and his aged mistress had thrown an intolerable gloom, were deserted for these brilliant assemblies of wits and poets, where every conversation was pointed by an epigram and seasoned by a sarcasm against the king, his government, and his ministry. Some ingenuity was displayed in evading the police and its battalion of spies and informers. At one time a game of chess was played, and each pawn was in mockery baptized with the name of a courtier; the moves of the bishops afforded scope for jests on the Jesuit prelates; while the position of the queen, as it varied in the game, gave opportunity for pungent sarcasms on Madame de Maintenon; at another, the calculations of a game of dominos supplied occasions for criticising the operations of finance and the management of the treasury; while the various games of cards opened a still wider field for political criticism.

Among the literary men who thus gave a tone to general conversation, Arouet, better known by the name of Voltaire, occupied the most conspicuous place. Young Arouet was about twenty-one years of age at the commencement of the regency. He had not as yet published any of the works which established his European reputation, but his stinging lampoons and bitter epigrams were the delight of the fashionable circles of Paris. He was a professed Epicurean; pleasure his sole pursuit; actresses and opera-dancers his chosen companions. He was an especial favorite in the literary clique which collected round the Duchesse de Maine, and was consequently opposed to the party of the Duke of Orleans.*

* Among these squibs, one of the most celebrated was a parody on the Lord's Prayer, which was widely circulated in manuscript. It was first printed by Capefigue in his Life of Louis XIV. So many allusions are

Grange Chancel, a satirist little known out of France, and now almost forgotten even there, belonged to the same party. His invectives against the Duke of Orleans, published under the name of Philippics, belong to a later period of history; but his lampoons and epigrams had begun to attract notice in the last years of Louis XIV. Fontenelle represented a graver style of literature; the ministers employed his pen in preparing manifestoes, protocols, and other diplomatic papers on foreign affairs, Louis having always taken pride in uniting literature with diplomacy. For these services he was permitted to indulge his profaneness and epicurism more freely than any of his companions, and to his example and influence must be ascribed the licentious tone which pervaded conversation at the commencement of the regency.

Jean Baptiste Rousseau was opposed to Fontenelle; he had repented the follies and extravagances of his youth; and now his lyrics were for the most part religious hymns and odes, which he continued to publish in spite of the increasing scoffs of skeptics and the harsh censure of the critic. Arouet and he had been friends for a short time, but Jean Baptiste could not endure the sneering infidelity of the younger poet; they quarreled and wrote epigrams against each other, which were very discreditable to both.

Infidelity had as yet made but slight progress among the middle classes; indeed, literature and philosophy of every kind were almost exclusively confined to the nobles and the higher circles. The Parisian citizen, though not quite such a bigot as in the days of St. Bartholomew and the League, was quite as devout and as attentive to the forms of religion. "Church and king" included

made by cotemporary writers to this political Paternoster, that, with some reluctance, we have resolved to give it a place in this note:

"Our Father, who art at Marly, thy name is no longer hallowed: your will is no longer done on the land or on the sea. Give us day by day our daily bread, for we are dying of hunger. Forgive your enemies who have beaten you, but do not forgive your generals, who have allowed themselves to be beaten. Lead us not into the temptation of changing our master; but deliver us from Maintenon. Amen."

It is amusing to read St. Simon's notice of this great author. "Arouet, the son of a notary, who was my father's agent, and mine to the day of his death, was exiled to Tulle, for some verses which were very satirical and very impudent. I would not have condescended to notice such a trifle had not this same Arouet, under the name of Voltaire, perversely attained by some tragic compositions, the rank of a personage in the republic of letters, and even some importance in the world at large."

the whole of his theology and his politics; he regarded Jansenism as a subject fit only to be discussed by the clergy, and questions as to forms of government as matters to be decided by the lawyers and the Parliament. Domestic life had not yet lost its charms for the good folks of Paris; they lived amid their families, and were as eminent for connubial fidelity, as they were subsequently for their disregard of social obligation. But infidelity and immorality had made an alarming, though as yet a secret progress among the nobility, who eagerly joined and abetted the philosophers in their attacks on religion and the clergy. Mockery of the obligations of conscience became a mark of fashion; the mission of philosophy was declared to be the destruction of prejudices, that is to say, the inculcation of an epicurean materialism, having for its moral "let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die."

Amid all the politeness and refinement of the court, a great grossness of conversation and manners was permitted even in the highest circles. Libertinism was not even covered by a veil of elegance; princesses themselves indulged in retailing licentious anecdotes, and chronicling disgusting scandals. Notice has already been taken of the impious displays of the Duke of Orleans and the Duchesse de Berri; but there were many others who secretly scoffed at all the obligations of religion and morality, while in public they manifested a saintly hypocrisy, by which they hoped to win the favor of the Jesuits and Madame de Maintenon.*

The household troops and royal guards were destined to act an important part in the great events which were in preparation. We have seen that Louis XIV. manifested the greatest anxiety on this subject, having intrusted the command of the guards to Marshal de Villeroi, and directed him to receive orders only from the Duc de Maine. He feared that if the guards were at the disposal of the Duke of Orleans, there might occur an imitation, in France, of the English Revolution of 1688.† At the death of Louis XIV.,

* Madame de Maintenon had a strange desire to be regarded as a kind of female priest. She was most gratified by being asked to hear confessions and to give her decision in cases of conscience. St. Simon sarcastically calls her "the Mother of the Church;" and he insinuates that she loved to hear of vice, because it gave her an opportunity of delivering one of those homilies in which she took the greatest pride.

A Huguenot writer says of her, that two things were necessary to gain her favor, "real vice and feigned repentance."

† Parallels between the position of the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were frequently published in the English and Dutch Journals of 1715, and also in several of the pamphlets issued from Leyden.

the household troops amounted to about twelve thousand men, all carefully selected from France and Switzerland; they were quartered at Versailles, Paris, and Saint Germain, and were raised far above the troops of the line by their superior pay and privileges. Whenever the king proceeded to the Parliament, or visited the city of Paris, these fine troops lined the streets and quays, to the great delight of the citizens, who took an extraordinary pride in their brilliant and martial appearance. Much as they had suffered from the pressure of taxation, the Parisians would not have allowed the troops of the household to be reduced by a single company. No spectacle was more delightful to the citizens than the deploying of the columns of the guards as they passed along the quays every Sunday to hear mass at Notre Dame.*

Two members of the diplomatic body exercised a great but opposite influence in Paris. The Earl of Stair was devoted to the cause of the Duke of Orleans, which he identified with the security of the Hanoverian succession in England. He offered to aid the latter with men and money to obtain the regency and the eventual succession to the crown. "The Earl of Stair," says St. Simon, "was a Scotch nobleman, tall, well-made, thin, still young, with an erect head and haughty demeanor. He was spirited, enterprising, and daring, both from temperament and principle. He possessed wit, address, and readiness; and, besides, was active, intelligent, secret, a complete master of himself and of his countenance. Under the pretext of loving good cheer, society, and dissipation (in which he took care to indulge only to a very limited extent), he made acquaintances and formed connections, by which he was enabled to procure intelligence of the utmost importance to his sovereign, his party, and himself.† He was warmly attached to the Whigs and to the Duke of Marlborough, under whom he had served, and to whom he was indebted for promotion and the Order of the Thistle. He was poor, extravagant, very ardent, and very ambitious; and he hoped so to employ his ambassadorship as to earn a fortune from his Whig patrons,

* Addison, in his poem on the Battle of Blenheim, notices the fine appearance of the French Guards:—

> "But see the haughty household troops advance!
> The dread of Europe and the pride of France:
> The war's whole art each private soldier knows,
> And with a general's love of conquest glows."

† From one of his mistresses he obtained accurate information of every project formed in the court of the Pretender.

who admired him because he hated France* as intensely as themselves. He told the Duke of Orleans in very plain terms, that as George I. and the duke were both usurpers, it was their obvious interest to enter into a close alliance.

An older and equally able diplomatist, the Spanish ambassador, counterbalanced the influence of the Earl of Stair. Antonio Guidice, Prince de Cellamare, was advanced in life, having attained his fifty-eighth year.† He was a nobleman of great courage, and possessed diplomatic talents of the highest order. Having served his sovereign in the field,‡ he became a member of his cabinet at the close of the war; and was appointed ambassador to France because it was deemed a post of great difficulty, unusual dexterity being necessary to counteract the intrigues of the Duke of Orleans and the Earl of Stair. Philip V. was desirous of realizing the great conception Louis XIV. had developed when he exclaimed, "There are no longer any Pyrenees." He probably hoped that he might obtain the regency for himself; but in any case he was anxious to maintain the most perfect accord between the courts of Versailles and the Escurial; so that in all diplomatic transactions they should act with a concert amounting to unity. Cellamare's mission then was designed to secure the preponderance of the Duc de Maine, and the other members of the council of regency, who wished to maintain the family union, and to resist the alliance with England, into which the Duke of Orleans was certain to be drawn by the Earl of Stair. The opposite diplomacy of these two great ambassadors affords a clue to the explanation of many events in the early history of the regency, and was in fact brought into activity before Louis XIV. reposed in his tomb.

Another party, headed by the Duc de Saint Simon, desired to persevere in the policy of Louis XIV. so far as regarded hostility to the Hanoverian succession in England, and a readiness to support the claims of the House of Stuart. But this party was equally resolved on excluding Philip V. from all influence in the government of France, and on obtaining the unrestricted regency for the Duke of Orleans. To effect this object, they proposed that the States-General, which had not met for more than a century, should be convoked and invited to form a plan for the government

* St. Simon always identifies France with the foreign policy of Louis XIV., and in this he has been very closely followed by Sismondi.

† The Prince de Cellamare was born at Naples, in 1670.

‡ He commanded a division of the Spanish army under Philip V., and was taken prisoner in a skirmish. After the battle of Brehuega he obtained his liberty, having been exchanged for General Carpenter.

of the kingdom. One reason for proposing this convocation arose out of an anxiety to prevent any exercise of power by the Parliament, which the dukes disliked because it had refused to recognize their precedence as peers. St. Simon strongly urged the regent to adopt this project, which would probably have given France a constitutional government, and averted the horrors of subsequent revolution: but events precipitated themselves too rapidly to admit of such delay as the elections would cause, and the precious opportunity was lost for ever.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COURT AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REGENCY.—CHARACTER OF THE REGENT AND OF HIS CHILDREN.—THE LEGITIMATED PRINCES.—THE DUC AND DUCHESSE DE MAINE.—THE COUNT DE TOULOUSE.—MARSHAL VILLEROY.—LE VOYSIN.—THE MARQUIS DE TORCY.—DESMARETS.—POLICY OF THE REGENT. HIS IMPLIED PROMISES TO THE PARLIAMENT.—DISPOSITIONS OF THE DUKES AND PEERS OF FRANCE.—FEELINGS OF THE PEOPLE TOWARDS THE REGENT.—LIBERATION OF PRISONERS FOR POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS OFFENCES.—BARGAIN OF THE DUC DE GUICHE.—STIPULATION OF LORD STAIR.—WILL OF LOUIS XIV.—INACTION OF THE DUC DE MAINE.—OPPOSITE CONDUCT OF HIS DUCHESS.—A LIMITED OR AN UNRESTRICTED REGENCY.

We have already traced the history of Philip, Duke of Orleans, from his infancy to the death of Louis XIV., which opened a new career for his ambition. He was now in the forty-second year of his age. Time had not altered his person nor changed his character. His manners were gentle, his conversation was attractive; his skill in music and painting beyond what usually falls to the share of amateurs; his knowledge of the sciences extensive, and, unfortunately, his ardor for the mystic researches of alchemy and magic unabated. His daring impiety, which often assumed the form of insolent bravado,* had frequently shocked the court of

* "I remember one Christmas night, at Versailles, when he accompanied the king to matins and three midnight masses, he surprised the court by steadily poring over the book he held in his hands, and which appeared to be some manual of devotion. One of the ladies in waiting on the Duchess of Orleans, long attached to his family, very much devoted and very free, as all good old servants are, complimented him on his attention,

Louis XIV. On the death of that monarch, whose authority had, in some measure, restrained him, he gave full scope to his debaucheries. His suppers at the Palais Royal were the most scandalous orgies ever permitted in a civilized country.* The Duke of Orleans was timorous in action, and this timidity made him distrustful and faithless; he would promise anything to escape from a temporary difficulty, but he never cared to perform his promises. He had, however, great perseverance and passive courage; under the appearance of an inattentive simplicity, he disguised a vigilance which allowed nothing to escape it; he watched every combination of parties and circumstances, and prepared his plans accordingly, so as to master the chances of the future. Though he admitted to his orgies persons of mean birth, he had learned from Madame to be proud of his descent, and on proper occasions he could exhibit all the dignity of a prince. The advance of years had only increased his appetite for sensual indulgences; but, amid all his manifold gallantries, he never permitted any of his mistresses to influence him in public business or affairs of state. Once, when anxiously urged by one of those fair politicians, at a private interview, to state his intentions respecting a matter of importance, he at length led her up to a mirror at one end of the apartment; "Look at these lovely lips!" he cried, "and con-

in the saloon of the duchess, before a large company. The duke humored her for some time, but at last said, 'You are a great fool, Madame Linbert; do you know what I was reading? It was a volume of Rabelais which I took with me to prevent me from being wearied!' It is easy to judge the effect of this reply. But the fact was so; he had taken the book with him out of sheer bravado."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxiii.

* His suppers were eaten in strange company. His mistresses, sometimes an opera-girl, often his daughter the Duchess de Berri, and a dozen men, his depraved companions, whom he unceremoniously called *roues*, intimating that each had committed crimes for which he deserved to be broken on the wheel, were brought together. To these were added some of his officers, a few wild youths; ladies of high rank but blemished reputation, and some persons of the lower rank distinguished for their wit or depravity. The supper, consisting of the most exquisite viands, was dressed in a place prepared for the purpose, all the utensils being of silver; the guests themselves often shared the toil of the cooks. At these meetings, everybody was passed in review, ministers and acquaintances as well as others, with a freedom which amounted to unbridled licentiousness. The past and present intrigues of the court and city, old tales, disputes, jests, and jokes,—no person or thing was spared. They drank deeply; they grew warm with wine; they uttered the most depraved sentiments, and vied with each other in the utterance of blasphemy. When they had made noise enough, and were all intoxicated, they staggered to bed to renew the same scenes on the following day."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxvi.

fess that they were not made for state affairs."* Madame, the mother of the regent, and his beloved daughter, the Duchess de Berri, have been fully described in preceding chapters, but we have only slightly sketched the Duchess of Orleans. She was still as proud of her birth, her beauty, and her abilities, as she had been at the time of her marriage, but she had no influence over her husband: they held separate courts, and she secretly supported the interests of her brother, the Duc de Maine.

Though the Duke of Orleans loved the Duchess de Berri more than any of his children, he was fondly attached to his daughters, Mesdemoiselles de Chartres and de Valois.† Louise Adelaide, Mademoiselle de Chartres, who, at a later period retired from the world and entered a convent, was very beautiful and accomplished, but she had some strange boyish tastes. She was fond of horses and dogs, had a passion for fire-arms and fireworks, and boasted that she was afraid of nothing in the world. Mademoiselle de Valois, called by her admirers "the princess with the golden locks," was a fascinating girl of fifteen, whose greatest fault was her extreme indolence.‡ The young Duc de Chartres was no favorite with his father, who upon one occasion, pointing to Louis XV. and then to his son, remarked, "Can any one suppose that I would remove so fine a young prince to make room for such a dullard as my son?"

Among the princes of the blood, the first in rank was Louis Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, usually called Monsieur le Duc, who, as we have already mentioned, was married to one of Louis XIV.'s daughters, by Montespan. He had served a campaign under Marshal Villars, at the head of the regiment De Condé, and had shown that he possessed an ample share of the

* Mémoires de Duclos.

† Besides these three daughters he had a son, the Duc de Chartres, born December 2, 1703; Louisa Elizabeth, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, born December 11, 1709; Philippa Elizabeth, Mademoiselle de Beaujoulais, born December 18, 1711; and the second Mademoiselle de Chartres, who was born in 1716.

‡ Madame (her grandmother) says of this lady:—"She clearly belongs to the family of the Mortemars, and resembles the Duchess of Sforza, Madame de Montespan's niece, as if she had been her daughter; the falsehood of the Mortemars pierces through her eyes. The Duchess of Orleans would be the most indolent woman in the world, had she not given birth to such a daughter as Mademoiselle de Valois, who is still worse than she is. It disgusts me to see a young person so excessively indolent. She does not care about me; more than that, she cannot endure me; for my part, I care very little about a person so badly brought up."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

courage of his race. Next to him came Armand, Prince of Conti, who had also served in the army, where he received a severe wound. His courage, however, was doubted.* He lived on very bad terms with his wife, who is said to have been a most amiable princess. Conti used to amuse himself by menacing her with a loaded pistol, until she procured a gun, and gave him such a fright that he never troubled her with fire-arms for the future.†

The legitimated princes, so beloved by Louis XIV., and to secure whose interests he had been induced to make his will, were placed in a very painful position by the death of the king. They were aware that the princes of the blood would dispute the rank which had recently been bestowed on them, and would not consent to receive them on terms of equality. Louis Augustus Duc de Maine had been the favorite pupil of Madame de Maintenon, and he so greatly preferred his governess to his mother, that he saw with satisfaction the former take Madame de Montespan's place in the favor of the king. He acted as Maintenon's spy, and was regarded as the great tale-bearer of the palace; he was consequently feared and hated, for it was known that he possessed great influence with his father. The rivalry between this personage and the Duke of Orleans began at a very early period: the Duc de Maine was one of the chief propagators of those charges which ascribed the deaths of the Duchess of Burgundy and Berri, to poison administered by the Duke of Orleans. His father designed him for the army, and he was only ten years of age when he served his first campaign; but as he grew up, he manifested such incapacity, that he was recalled to Paris, where he exercised a kind of vice-regal authority. His character for probity was unimpeachable; nor is there reason to doubt the sincerity of his piety, and Louis XIV. could hardly have chosen better when he selected his natural son for the personal guardianship of his legitimate heir.

Anna Louisa Benedicta, Duchess de Maine, was a daughter of

* "One evening I said to the Princess de Conti, that I was glad to hear of her husband's recovery. She laughed, and whispered, 'Well, well, he is cured; but he still pretends to be sick, in order to avoid joining the army, for he is as great a poltroon as an ape.'"—*Mémoires de Madame.*

† His quarrels with his mother afforded much amusement to Paris. "The mother commenced building a house at a distance from her son's hotel. When they are on good terms, she discharges the workmen; but when they quarrel, she doubles their number and urges forward the building, so that the world can always tell on what terms the Princess of Conti is with her son, by looking at the edifice."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

the House of Condé, and had a more than ordinary share of the pride of birth, by which that branch of the Bourbons was distinguished. Her figure was so small that she might have been taken for a girl of ten years old; her features were irregular, and her countenance dark, but her brilliant eyes sparkled with wit and intelligence. She was highly educated, and a great patroness of literature and art; most of her life was spent in her beautiful mansion at Sceaux, surrounded by men most eminent for genius and learning. It was she who first patronized the muse of Arouet, and he repaid her protection by writing countless satire and lampoons against all her political enemies, but more especially the Duke of Orleans.*

The second of the legitimated princes was the Count de Toulouse, who had served at sea with some reputation, and had fought a sharp battle with the English Admiral Rook, off Malaga, in which both claimed the victory. He was more learned, less haughty, and less ambitious than his brother, and, consequently, was more popular. He preferred a naval life to court intrigues, and spent much of his time in lamenting the constraint which his father's unwillingness to part from him imposed on his inclinations.†

The execution of the military arrangements in the royal will was entrusted to Marshal Villeroy, in whose hands Louis XIV. placed the sword almost at his dying hour. Villeroy had been unfortunate as a general, but had gained the king's confidence by the strength of his devotion to the monarch, with whom, having been the son of his governor, he had been intimate from childhood.‡ Disgraced after his defeat at Ramillies, he recovered the

* Several of Voltaire's first essays are in the Maurepas collection. We quote one entitled, "The Duke of Orleans acquitted of the charge of poisoning:"—

"Worst of the useless subjects of the state!
A greater blockhead than thy foolish sire;
Than thy old uncle more deserving hate—
Who calls thee poisoner must be sure a liar:
Courage was wanting to prepare such potion,
And thou of courage never had'st a notion."

† "I believe that the Count of Toulouse is a son of Louis XIV.; but I have always thought that the Duc de Maine was the son of Terme, who was a false knave, and the greatest tattler about the court."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

‡ "He was a man made expressly to preside over a ball, to regulate a court-festival, or, if he had a voice, to sing the part of kings and heroes at the opera; in short, a man very fit for prescribing fashions, and for nothing in the world besides."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxiii.

royal favor through the interest of Madame de Maintenon, and was admitted into the council of state; but he made as poor a statesman as a general; his solemn platitude afforded equal annoyance to the king, and amusement to his colleagues. Of the other marshals Villars was the most eminent, and he professed neutrality, though, on the whole, he was inclined to take part with the Duke of Orleans.

If the courtiers and a portion of the marshals were relied on as supporters of the late king's will, it was very different with the judges and the lawyers, and the great majority of Parliament. The chief of the magistracy was Le Voysin, who held the office of chancellor, rather anomalously combined with that of secretary of war.* He owed his promotion entirely to the patronage of Madame de Maintenon, whose cause he had steadily supported, until the declining health of Louis XIV. led him to think seriously of the best means of securing his continuance in office under that monarch's succession. So generally was he believed to be a determined opponent of the Orleans party, that St. Simon and others had arranged with the duke all the preliminaries for the choice of a new Chancellor; but Le Voysin secretly offered to betray to the duke the provisions of the king's will, on condition that he should be continued in the chancellorship. This offer, greatly to St. Simon's indignation, was accepted. There is also some reason to believe that Le Voysin, who placed implicit reliance on legal forms and technicalities, was the person who induced the Duke of Orleans to abandon his intention of convoking the States-General, and to trust for the regency to the Parliament. Le Voysin was intimately connected with the parliamentary party, and through him the Duke of Orleans was able to influence the magistracy when he wished that body to assume an important part in politics.

The Marquis de Torcy, when a very young man, had succeeded his father as secretary of state for foreign affairs, and had been employed by Louis XIV. in all the most important negotiations of his reign. There was no living functionary who so thoroughly comprehended the diplomacy of the grand monarch, or who entered so fully into the king's views of foreign policy. Although

* He was the son of an eminent lawyer, who rose from being first clerk of the Parliament to the office of Master of Requests. He was sent as Commissary-General to Hainault, where his wife had an opportunity of showing such attention to Madame de Maintenon, then accompanying Louis in his last campaign, that Madame resolved to make the fortune of both.

he had been always opposed to the Orleans party, his long tenure of office, and his intimate knowledge of all the relations of France with the other states of Europe, secured him in office; in fact, it would have been impossible to supply his place.*

Desmarets, the superintendent of financial affairs, had been trained under Colbert, his uncle having married one of that minister's sisters, before Colbert achieved his greatness. He had held a high place in the royal mint, but was accused of gross peculation; and the evidence against him was so strong, that Colbert wrote to the king from his dying bed, exposing the guilt of his nephew, and recommending his dismissal. Louis XIV. kept the matter a profound secret, until there was a general assembly of all the financiers at the office of the comptroller-general. When that took place, the minister, by the king's command, reproached Desmarets with his guilt in the rudest terms, deprived him of office, commanded him to leave Paris in twenty-four hours, and would not listen to a word of reply or explanation. But his financial skill was too great to be dispensed with: he was invited back to Paris, obtained with some difficulty an interview with the king, and so successfully labored to remove unfavorable impressions from the royal mind, that he was appointed to the direction of the finances. He held this office at the time of the king's death, but much to his astonishment, his dismissal was one of the first acts of the regency.†

We have dwelt at some length on the characters of these different statesmen, in order to show the difficulties which the Duke of Orleans had to encounter in propitiating such varied characters, and conciliating such jarring interests. Secrecy, patience, and perseverance were his weapons. With marvelous sagacity he devised combinations of circumstances, in which all the actors, previously set in motion by his foresight, met, to all appearance, and in their own belief, as if by accident, and acted just as he

* "I redoubled my efforts to procure Torcy's dismissal. At last the duke informed me, with great embarrasment, that he could not dispense with a minister who possessed the secret of all foreign affairs for so many years, and who alone understood the secret management of the posts. This, in fact, was what saved Torcy."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxv.

† "It was a necessary concession to popular clamor. Desmarets was identified in the minds of the people with the grinding system of taxation established by Louis XIV., and was said to have trafficked extensively in the misery of the people. His wife, who was believed to have received more bribes than any lady in the corrupt court, was so affected by her husband's overthrow that she lost her senses, and continued during the remainder of her life a confirmed lunatic."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxv.

had previously calculated. In all his plans he relied implicitly on the Abbé Dubois, of whom some account has been given in a preceding chapter. A greater profligate than the Abbé in private life, could not have been found in Christendom; but it would have been equally impossible to have discovered a cooler head, a more disciplined intelligence, or a determination less susceptible of the influences of conscientious scruples or honorable feeling. He had neither a heart nor a moral principle: he looked upon all political questions as problems in abstract science, in which men played the same part as mathematical symbols, or the pieces in a game of chess. Diplomacy ought to be passionless; it never was so completely so as in the hands of Dubois, whose very rhetoric was based upon the coldest calculation. His two great objects were to establish the English alliance, and the unrestricted regency of the Duke of Orleans. Neither of these accorded with the true interests of France; and of this no man in the kingdom was more thoroughly convinced than Dubois himself. But, as dishonest in the use of means as he was reckless in the adoption of ends, he deliberately, and of set purpose, applied himself to establish both. No man can deny his extraordinary talents; but if we cannot but admire the extent of his abilities, it is as impossible to avoid condemning their perversion. The Duke of Orleans had to prepare, with the utmost caution, a vast variety of means to ensure his object—an unrestricted regency. In the first place, he was not assured of the Parliament. His royal highness had been placed in very awkward and perilous relations with this judicial body: the question of his prosecution on the charge of poisoning had been mooted, and there were many magistrates who did not conceal their regret at its having been abandoned. The first President, De Mesmes, was a devoted adherent of the Duc de Maine, and took a leading part in the small but active circle at Sceaux. This promotion, in fact, had been entirely owing to the patronage of the legitimated princes, for he was very ignorant of law, and had previously aimed at being distinguished as a man of fashion. When the crisis came, President de Mesmes sold himself to both parties, and dealt out equal treachery to both; but his vote was at the disposal of the regent when he chose to pay the price set upon it.

It proved, however, to be no very difficult task to secure the suffrages of the Parliament, by professing a high reverence for its decrees, and a boundless respect for its prerogatives. It was no small merit in the eyes of the members, that the plan of superseding them by a convocation of the States-General had been

abandoned; it was only necessary to set before them a hope of rising to the same importance as the English Parliament, and of superadding political to their judicial functions Their ancient right of remonstrance was restored; it gave them a kind of a veto on royal ordinances; another step in advance, and they might acquire the right of originating laws. Such expectations found a cheering contrast to the state of feebleness and abject dependence to which Parliaments had been reduced under Louis XIV. Their desires were suddenly kindled and their hopes excited; they indulged excellent anticipations of the return of the proud days of the Fronde, when Parliaments engrossed the whole authority of the kingdom. Different but not less powerful motives were suggested to the dukes and peers who had been admitted to seats in the Parliament. Descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors, and proud to excess of their noble birth, they had felt themselves humiliated and insulted by the unexampled greatness which Louis XIV. had bestowed on his natural children. The edict which declared them capable of succeeding to the crown was, as it deserved to be, detested. There was some chance of the extinction of the House of Bourbon: Philip V., having taken the crown of Spain, was an alien from France; Louis XV. was a sickly child; Condé and Conti had no families, and the Duke of Orleans had only one son. It was a possible contingency that the entire male issue of Henri IV. would disappear; and that France, in order to procure a legitimate monarch, would have to trace back genealogies to St. Louis. Such a contingency opened expansive prospects to ambition, which the proud peers did not choose to have intercepted by legitimated bastards. They complained that the children of Montespan, elevated to the rank of princes of the blood, took precedence of peers who could trace their descent to the Paladins of Charlemagne, and who recognized no one as their superior but their king and sovereign.

If the French Parliament envied the political powers of the French House of Commons, the dukes and peers were not less anxious to invest their hereditary privileges with the same constitutional securities as belong to the English House of Lords. Our Charles II., indeed, had sent a goodly array of his illegitimate children into the House of Lords; but the Dukes of St. Albans, Grafton, Richmond, &c., had never presumed to take the title of royal highness; and the Duke of Monmouth, who alone, in spite of his illegitimacy, asserted princely claims, had ended his life on the scaffold. Now all the feudal nobles of France were firmly persuaded that the rights of the aristocracy rested on the very

same basis as that of the monarchy itself.* They set up constitutional prescription in opposition to the royal will; and contended that Louis XIV. has passed the limits of his power by conferring illegal privileges on the "bastards."

Saint Simon had deeply studied all the constitutional questions connected with the French peerage; he contended that the act of legitimation conveyed no privilege of peerage; and that the bastards of Louis, like those of Charles II. in England, were entitled to seats in Parliament only by virtue of their creations and their titles, without any reference to their birth. Though such a discussion would have little interest at the present day, in 1715 it was one of great excitement. The hope of setting aside what were deemed the usurped privileges of the legitimated, was sure to win for the Duke of Orleans the almost unanimous support of the peers.

Popularity was necessary to the duke's success, but few persons had been so signally reprobated by public opinion. The charges of poisoning the dauphins, of dealing in the forbidden arts of magic and necromancy, of employing wizards to devise dire conjurations, and of having held interviews with Satan himself,† were circulated among the lower orders, and received with implicit credulity; more justly, and with greater reason, the citizens were offended by his daring impiety, his extravagant debauchery, and his utter disregard of public decency. All these crimes, real and pretended, were forgiven, when it was whispered that the Duke of Orleans was disposed to favor the Jansenists and to liberate those who had been imprisoned for their religious opinions. Jansenism was in high favor with the citizens of Paris; the lawyers, though not very particular about creeds, thoroughly hated the Jesuits, and everything belonging to them; and all the popular clergy, and consequently, their congregations, were opposed to the bull *Unigenitus*.‡ Assurances were conveyed to these

* Their principle was, "The majesty of law is superior to the majesty of the monarchy," a principle more than once enunciated in the presence of Louis XIV. himself, but which through life he refused to acknowledge. It was for the purpose of obtaining a solemn recognition of this great principle that the dukes so earnestly sought the convocation of the States-General.

† He had sought such interviews; Saint Simon describes the frequency of his attempts to raise the devil by impious spells.— *St. Simon*, vol. xxi.

‡ The bull Unigenitus and the Constitution founded on it were most unpopular in Paris, and were made the subject of many pleasantries. We quote one amusing specimen:—

parties that their opinions were favored by the Duke of Orleans, and forthwith it was proclaimed that he was the only prince capable of restoring the liberties of the Gallican church.

To explain the importance attached to the promise of liberating those who were confined for their religious opinions, we must anticipate a little, and quote from an actual witness of the event, an account of its performance. "The regent, on the very first day of his transacting business with the secretaries of state, ordered that a list should be given to him of all the *lettres de cachet*,* and there were many of these for which no motives could be assigned. He ordered all to be set at liberty who were not detained for some actual crime, and of criminals there were very few, almost all the prisoners being the victims of the ministers and of the Jesuit Letellier. Amongst others, the Chevalier d'Aremberg was liberated from a dungeon in which he had been detained eleven years, for having aided in the escape of Father Quesnel from the prison of Molines. I saw him some time afterwards; and though he was not past the prime of life, yet the severity of his imprisonment had reduced him to decrepitude. There was also found in the Bastile an Italian, who had been arrested thirty-three years before, on the very day of his arrival in Paris. He represented to his deliverers, that his liberation would be the greatest misfortune which could befall him; for that he should look in vain for his relations, who would not know him again, or who probably were dead. The regent ordered that he should be well treated in the Bastile, with liberty to go in or out as he pleased. The state in which the prisoners were found who had been confined in consequence of the bull *Unigenitus*, was perfectly horrible. This first act of justice brought the regent much merited praise and popularity."†

We have already mentioned that Louis XIV. had relied for

"*Invitation to the funeral of Lady Constitution.*

"Gentlemen and Ladies—You are invited to attend the funeral procession, service, and burial, of *Lady Constitution*, natural daughter of Pope Clement XV., which will take place in the Jesuit Church, Rue St. Antoine. The Archbishop of Bordeaux will officiate; the Reverend Fathers Doucin and Letellier will act as chief mourners, and the curate of St. Medeira will preach the funeral sermon. She died of grief at having lost seventy-seven per cent. The Archbishop of Paris has gained largely by her death. Bishop de Targny is returning post-haste from Rome to sprinkle the corpse with holy water."

* Warrants for the arrest of prisoners without any specified charge, but merely in obedience to the king's will, authenticated by the royal seal.

† Mémoires De Duclos.

the execution of the arrangements in his will, on the military power which he had entrusted to the Marshal de Villeroy and the Duc de Maine. Under the circumstances of the crisis, it was absolutely essential to success that the Duke of Orleans should have for auxiliaries the royal military household, and the officers of the French and Swiss guards. It was by the exempts of the king's guards and the officers of the royal household that all political arrests were made; it was by regiments of French guards that the avenues and gates of the palace were secured, a circumstance which enabled the government to overawe the deliberations of Parliament, and send refractory magistrates into exile. If the councillors of regency nominated in the will were assured of the support of the officers and soldiers of the guard, they might set the Orleans party at defiance; but the officers cherished all the prejudices and antipathies of noble and pure birth against the legitimated princes, and were, consequently, predisposed to support the supremacy of the Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood. Corruption, too, had been freely employed; the Count de Guiche Grammont, to whom his father, the Duc de Guiche, had nominally resigned the colonelship of the first regiment of French guards, agreed for a bribe of six hundred thousand livres, paid in ready money, to place his men at the disposal of the Duke of Orleans. This bargain was rendered peculiarly disgraceful from the circumstance that the Duc de Guiche had obtained his rank and power by affecting an extraordinary attachment to Madame de Maintenon and the legitimated princes; and by the most extravagant protestations of devotion to the royal will, which had procured for him such entire confidence from Louis XIV., that he relied implicitly on his fidelity for maintaining the integrity of his testamentary disposition.* But when the price of treachery had been secured, this colonel agreed to post his men around the Parliament in such a position that at the first signal the Duke of Orleans might be installed in the plenary government of the kingdom by an overwhelming display of military force.

The resolution to employ the military, or rather, to have them in readiness to be employed in case of need, was adopted on the strenuous recommendation of the Earl of Stair, who declared his intention of being present when the question of the regency came

* Saint Simon records the transaction with exemplary and amusing coolness; he speaks of it as a matter of ordinary business, which neither party need conceal, and of which neither had reason to be ashamed.

to be decided, in order to show that the Duke of Orleans would be supported by all the power of England. Such a manifestation at some periods of history, would have been injurious to the cause it was designed to serve; but the French people were now anxious for the maintenance of peace with England. They remembered the danger from which their country had been rescued by the Treaty of Utrecht; and they dreaded the appearance of Marlborough, again menacing their frontiers and threatening a march to Paris. There were few among the French statesmen who valued what was stipulated to be given in exchange for the English alliance. The two chief demands of Lord Stair were even acceptable to a large majority; they were ready to suspend the works at Mardyke because their continuance pressed heavily on their exhausted finances; and they were quite willing that the exiled House of Stuart should be driven from France, where few cared either for their presence or their safety. The Duc de Noailles, and the Abbé Dubois, had no difficulty in negotiating with the Earl of Stair; for there was hardly a proposition likely to be made on either side, the adoption of which was not recommended by the common interests of both.

All these conjunctures had been foreseen, all these circumstances provided for, and all necessary arrangements made so soon as it was known that the disease of Louis XIV. would prove mortal. The Duke of Orleans had left nothing to chance; his measures were so well taken, that he could at pleasure direct the movements of all the public men in France; they were in his hands mere political puppets, incapable of any motion but such as he communicated by the impulse of his invisible wires.

But how was the Duc de Maine, intended by the will to prove the great counterpoise to the Duke of Orleans in the council of regency, employed at this crisis of his fate? He was perfectly inactive, and unconscious of everything passing around him; but this was not the result of indifference. Listless and effeminate as he undoubtedly was, he would have guarded the rank it had been the labor of his life to attain, if he had suspected that it was endangered; but accustomed to believe in the omnipotence of his father, he was persuaded that the will of Louis XIV. would be obeyed as implicitly after his death as it had been throughout his life. Nor must we refuse him the credit of other and better feelings; fondly attached to his royal sire, he could not bestow a thought on any other object while the king lingered on the verge of the grave. The time for action came, and found him utterly helpless and unprepared.

The Duchess de Maine, however, acted with some energy. Through the President de Mesmes, she endeavored to persuade the most influential members of the Parliament, that their interests would be better served by a council than by an unrestricted regency. But her chief reliance was on her literary friends and supporters; a whole host of pamphlets and pasquinades was prepared at Sceaux; Arouet, La Motte, and Rousseau, labored for her in verse and prose; lawyers prepared arguments, historians collected precedents, and poets pointed satires; but events moved more rapidly and effectually than their pens. The question of the regency was decided before any portion of the literary array, designed to direct its decision, had issued from the press.

The Duc de Maine relied on law, and the duchess on literature; but moral force has few chances of success against an advocate possessing in abundance the elements of physical force,* and who is resolved to use them most unscrupulously. So far as argument was concerned, the Duke of Orleans was at least equal to them; and he had further secured such a military force as rendered him certain of turning the balance. Another circumstance misled the Duc de Maine. He was persuaded that the Duke of Orleans knew nothing of the arrangements ordained in the royal will; he could not suspect the chancellor, who professed the most complete devotion to his interests, of having betrayed the secret. He believed that the Duke of Orleans, hearing of the restrictions for the first time when the will should be read in Parliament, would be so taken by surprise, as to be incapable of any effort to defeat them. This confidence did not forsake him, until he saw the dispositions of the will set aside without an effort being made for their maintenance.

The mere question of a restricted or unrestricted regency could have little historical importance, if it did not involve questions of infinitely greater weight than the selection of the persons to whom political power was about to be entrusted. The whole foreign policy of France and the system of its government, depended on the issue. The system of Louis XIV., despotic unity and the Spanish alliance, stood on one side; opposed to it was the system of Philip of Orleans, responsibility to Parliament, and an alliance with the English Revolution of 1688. Sterner historians have placed it in another and not very unjustifiable point of view.

* An unscrupulous leader of faction once said to a hesitating colleague, "If you go to law with them and they go to war with you, it is not difficult to predict the issue."

They describe the issue as between a government of arbitrary power and a government of corruption, but this is to judge after the events. We know now that this was really the issue between Charles X. and Louis Philippe, but this was as little suspected in 1715 as it was in 1830; on both occasions the contest appeared to be between the reality of tyranny and a not unreasonable prospect of constitutional freedom.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONSULTATION OF THE DUKES AND PEERS AS TO THE REGENCY.—INTERVIEW OF SOME OF THEM WITH THE REGENT.—THE PALAIS DE JUSTICE.—THE SECOND OF SEPTEMBER, 1715.—ADDRESS OF THE FIRST PRESIDENT TO THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—HIS REPLY.—ISLY DE FLEURY.—CONDUCT OF THE FIRST PRESIDENT, DE MESMES.—THE OPENING OF LOUIS XIV.'S WILL.—EFFECT OF ITS READING ON THE DUC DE MAINE.—SPEECHES OF THE REGENT AND DE FLEURY, AND OF THE DUC DE MAINE.—ITS EFFECT ON THE ASSEMBLY.—PROCEEDINGS IN CONSEQUENCE OF IT.—COMMUNICATIONS FROM LORD STAIR AND THE DUC DE GUICHE.—THE PARLIAMENT AND THE REGENT.—TRIUMPH OF THE LATTER.—HIS INTERVIEWS WITH LOUIS XV. AND WITH MADAME.—CONDUCT OF THE DUCHESS DE MAINE.

On the evening of the day on which Louis XIV. breathed his last, a large meeting of the dukes and peers, who were all in favor of the unrestricted regency of the Duke of Orleans, was held in the apartments of the Prince de la Trémoille, where several questions of the highest importance were discussed. The first point to which attention was called was, whether a convocation of the States-General would be preferable to the simple authority of the parliament; but as the parliament had been actually summoned to meet on the following morning, such a question could hardly admit of serious discussion. Not to touch upon many other difficulties and perplexities, it was evident that the convocation of the States-General would require a delay of several weeks; while the urgency of affairs would not admit the deferring of the settlement of the regency for a single day. All the peers present then admitted the regency of the Duke of Orleans as a necessary circumstance, which admitted of no delay.

Then came on the old controversy respecting etiquette and pre-

rogative, should the peers vote uncovered? When the votes should be demanded by the President of that Chamber, would it be enough for that functionary to salute the nobility generally; or should he take off his mortar-cap to each individual peer, as was his custom when he asked the votes of his colleagues in the Presidency? Long and anxious were the debates about the privileges and prerogatives of coronets and mortar-caps; the States-General and the Regency were forgotten; the question of precedence between peers and presidents absorbed all others.

Late at night St. Simon and some of the other peers had an interview with the Duke of Orleans. He addressed them at great length, begging them not to raise any new question of etiquette on the following day; and pointed out how seriously such a vexatious discussion would interfere with the settlement of the regency and of the administration of the realm, and the obvious impropriety of frustrating or retarding the arrangement of such vital questions by the discussion of private interests and privileges. But the peers long resisted this reasoning; and it is doubtful how the matter would have terminated, had not St. Simon proposed that the peers, at the opening of the session, should solemnly protest against the precedence usurped by the Presidents of Parliament, and thus reserve their claims for future consideration. The task of presenting this protest was confided to St. Simon.

A graver difficulty was raised respecting the legitimated princes. Several of the peers declared their resolution to dispute the legality of the ordinances which had raised them to the rank of princes of the blood. The Duchess of Orleans,* more fondly attached to her brother than her husband, had discovered that such a proposal was likely to be made; and had extorted, on a promise, that it should not be countenanced by her husband. The Duke of Orleans, ably seconded by St. Simon, induced the peers to adjourn the consideration of this question also, and all further discussions were reserved for the parliamentary session.

Every visitor to Paris has been brought by the vexation of

* "It is but *too* true that the Duchess of Orleans loves her brother, the Duc de Maine, better than her husband. . . . . It has been remarked that she loves her brother better than her children. Such an ambitious woman as she is, into whose head her brother has put the notion that she ought to be regent herself, cannot but be *fond* of him. She would like him to be regent rather than her husband, because he has persuaded her that she would reign with him: she believes it firmly, though it is easy to see that her brother's wife has too much ambition to allow any participation in her power."—*Mémoires de Madame.*

passports, or by a desire of visiting that beautiful specimen of architecture, *La Sainte Chapelle*, to the *Palais de Justice*, the seat of the great courts of law. Here was situated the Great Chamber where the Parliament of Paris assembled when in solemn session. From the pictures and plans now before us, it appears to have been a large and lofty saloon, at the upper end of which was a throne in the form of a bed, covered with rich crimson velvet, embroidered with crowns of gold and furnished with rich cushions; this was his majesty's bed of justice. To the right, in a niche of carved wood-work, was a sculptured crucifixion, and on the left was a statue of the Virgin in rich robes, with a garland in her hand. The saloon was furnished with seats and benches, luxuriously covered, and in the four corners were *lanterns*, or boxes of curiously carved wood-work, for the reception of foreign ambassadors and princes, or the ladies of the royal family who might wish to hear the debates.

On the morning of the 2d of September, 1715, a large crowd had assembled in front of the Palais de Justice; so early as seven o'clock the carriages of the dukes and peers began to arrive. The magistrates for the most part came in sedan-chairs, but several of the older adherents to ancient customs arrived on ambling mules, —quiet animals which no provocation could induce to strike into a trot. As the members arrived, they were shown into a suite of refreshment rooms, where they partook of breakfast, and discussed the ceremonial to be used at the reception of the Duke of Orleans.

All the streets leading to the Palais de Justice were lined with the household troops, and strong detachments of the same force occupied all the courts and passages of the building itself, ready at the first signal of the Duc de Guiche to stand to their arms and intimidate the Parliament, if necessary by force, into conferring the regency on the Duke of Orleans.

The season was beautiful; the bright beams of an autumnal sun streaming through the casements, imparted a marked brilliancy to the rich costumes of the duchess, and the crimson robes of the magistrates, as they were marshaled from the refreshment-rooms to their places in the saloon. The Duke of Orleans, as first prince of the blood, took his seat at the right of the bed of justice, and on the same level with him sat the Duc de Bourbon, the Prince of Condé, and the two legitimated princes, the Duc de Maine and the Count of Toulouse. Two heralds-at-arms, bearing maces, marshaled the Duke of Orleans to his place; and when he had taken his seat, the first president, De Mesmes, arose, bowed to him, and standing uncovered, addressed him in the fol-

lowing terms: "Monsieur, the Parliament, profoundly afflicted by the loss which has befallen France, conceives great hopes of the public good on beholding a prince so enlightened, so alive to every sentiment of justice as yourself, Monsieur, appear in this company with the intentions you bring to it. The court has charged me to assure you, Monsieur, that it will unite with you for the service of the king and of the state with all its strength, and with all the zeal which has ever distinguished it from the other companies of the kingdom; at the same time, it has expressly ordered me to declare to you, Monsieur, that it is eager to do everything which can prove to you its profound respect for yourself."

This discourse implied no engagement. The first president, De Mesmes, was intimate with the Duke of Maine, who was likewise seated on the bench reserved for the peers. The Duke of Orleans, taking off his plumed hat, and profoundly saluting all the Parliamentary assembly, replied: "Gentlemen, after all the misfortunes which have afflicted France, and the loss we have sustained in the death of a great king, our only hope is in the prince whom God has given to us. It is to him, gentlemen, that we must now offer our homage and faithful obedience. It devolves upon me, as the first of his subjects, to set you the example of this inviolable fidelity to his person, and also of a more peculiar attachment to the interests of his kingdom. These sentiments were well known to the late king, and were doubtless the cause of his kind language to me, during his last moments, of which it is my duty to inform you. After having received the *viaticum*, he called me to him, and said: 'My nephew, by my will all the rights to which your birth entitles you are preserved to you. I recommend to you the dauphin; serve him as faithfully as you have served me, and labor to preserve for him his kingdom. In the event of his death you will be master: the crown will belong to you.' To these words he added others too flattering to myself for me to repeat, and ended by saying: 'I have taken the measures which I believed the wisest; but as it is impossible to foresee everything, if aught should be found unfitting, let it be changed.' These are his own words. I am, therefore, persuaded that, according to the laws of the kingdom, according to the examples of what has been done under similar circumstances, and even according to the will of the late king, the regency belongs to me; but I will not be satisfied, unless to the many titles which unite in my favor, you add your suffrages and your approbation, of which I shall be not less proud than of the regency itself. I,

therefore, ask of you, when you shall have read the will which the late king deposited in your hands, and the codicils which I bring to you, not to confound my different titles, and to deliberate equally concerning each—that is to say, concerning my right by birth, and that which the will may in addition confer upon me. I am even persuaded that the former will first engage your attention; but to whatever title I may owe the regency, I can confidently assure you, gentlemen, that I shall observe it by my zeal for the king's service, and by my love for the public good, particularly when aided by your advice and wise suggestions. I ask you for them in advance, protesting before this august assembly, that I shall never have other designs, than to relieve the people; to establish order in the finances, to retrench superfluous expenditure, to preserve peace at home and abroad; above all, to re-establish the union and tranquillity of the Church, and to apply myself earnestly to all that can render a state flourishing and happy. What I now demand, gentlemen, is, that the *gens du roi* present their conclusions on the proposition which I have made, that as soon as the will shall have been read, my titles to the regency shall be examined, commencing with the first, that is to say, the title I derive from my birth and the laws of the realm."*

A more able and prudent speech could hardly have been devised. It had been prepared by the prince, in conjunction with the Abbé Dubois, and the Dues de Saint Simon and Noailles: every word was skillfully calculated to win over the Parliament, and yet nothing was said that did not seem perfectly natural under the circumstances. The duke claimed the regency in the name of the law, and thus indirectly acknowledged that there was a constitutional law, independent of, and superior to, the will of the sovereign, and that of this law the Parliament were the authorized judges and intrepreters. This was the principle for which they had vainly contended in the preceding reign; now it was not conceded indeed, but what was far more important, recognized as an existing right, and it required less legal skill than the Parliament of Paris possessed, to discover that an adherence to the testamentary dispositions of Louis XIV. would be virtually a setting up of the will of the late king, above Parliamentary right. The apocryphal conversation with Louis XIV. which the prince detailed, acknowledged the right of Parliament to change any of the arrangements which he had devised, if they should be found inexpedient. What could the magistracy desire more? They

* Extract des Registres au Parliament, Sept. 2, 1715.

were offered the power of deciding a question of sovereignty, and to refuse the invitation would be to declare that their body was only competent to the registration of edicts.

The king's councillors (*Les gens du roi*) represented by François Jolly de Fleury, addressed a formal requisition to the Parliament, demanding that the last will and testament of the late king, entrusted to their care, should be opened and read. Fleury's speech was a finished but artful composition; he had been gained over to the Orleans' party by D'Aguesseau, and he took care to dwell very emphatically on the respect the prince had shown for the fundamental laws of the realm, and the privileges of Parliament, adding, that "if the rights of birth did not give the regency to the Duke of Orleans, he would still be entitled to it from his eminent qualities as a statesman."

The requisition having been presented, the king's councillors retired, and the President de Mesmes rose to put the question to the several orders. He began with the legal body, the masters of requests, &c., whom he addressed covered; he then turned to the peers, and in spite of the angry protest of Saint Simon, did not remove his hat; but he uncovered while putting the question to his brother presidents and the princes of the blood. Trifling as this distinction may appear, it gave rise to such murmurs, that the Duke of Orleans was very anxious to withdraw, lest, by appearing to sanction the ceremony or the protest he should give offence to one party or the other.

The secretaries then went in solemn procession to the place where the will had been deposited, and with great ceremony broke the seals and removed the slab. It appeared that the wall had been damp, for the envelop was quite mildewed, and the sheets of the will were dripping with wet.* It was delivered by the secretaries to the president, and by him to the Duke of Orleans, and having been duly identified, was ordered to be read, a task which was entrusted to Le Dreux, who had a distinct, sonorous voice. Up to this moment the aspect and manner of the Duc de Maine exhibited all the joy of anticipated triumph;† but he became

* "Mercure de France," October, 1715.

† "When the Duc de Maine arrived he was *bursting* with joy. This is a strong phrase, but no other could so well express his appearance. Pleasure and satisfaction were more conspicuous than boldness and confidence, though both these were apparent, as well also the efforts of his politeness to hide them. He saluted right and left, piercing everybody with his looks. When he advanced up the floor his salute to the presidents had an air of triumph, which was returned and reflected back in a

nervous and anxious as he watched the effect of the reading upon the assembly. Murmurs began to arise when the restricting clauses were read, and there was an obvious ferment of indignation when it appeared that the codicil gave the Duc de Maine absolute command over the troops of the household. The Duc de Maine at this point became sensibly alarmed, and his confidence was greatly shaken.* Party notes were at the same time written to the Duke of Orleans by the most ardent of his partizans,† exhorting him to be firm and to have recourse to the troops, should the Parliament appear unfavorable to his claims.

When the reading of the will was concluded, the Duke of Orleans again addressed the assembly. After having paid a few compliments to the memory of the late king, he expressed his surprise at some of the provisions of the will, which he said were quite inconsistent with the assurances that had been given him, and which he insinuated had been caused to be inserted by some undue influence.‡ But he declared that it would be first necessary to determine whether the fundamental laws of the realm did not invest him with the regency in right of his birth—a question which was clearly preliminary to any discussion of the provisions of the will. The Duc de Maine rose to reply to the charge of undue influence; but Orleans sharply informed him, that it was not yet his turn to speak, and called upon the king's counsel to expound the law of the case.

Joly de Fleury then delivered a long and elaborate statement of all the forms of regency which had existed in France from the foundation of the monarchy; concluding a labored argument, by declaring that, according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy, the regency belonged to the Duke of Orleans by right of birth. The question was then put to the vote, and the Duke of Orleans

marked manner by the answering salute of the first President."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxv.

* The Duc de Maine perceived the ferment and turned pale: during the whole time he was attentively studying the countenances of all around, and I was watching him just as closely."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxv.

† St. Simon declares that he wrote two himself, to the effect that matters were going on badly, and that it would be necessary to appeal to force.—*St. Simon*. vol. xxv.

‡ Pamphlets had been published in Holland a little before the death of Louis XIV., declaring that the king had fallen into a state of dotage, and that his will was dictated to him by the Jesuits and Madame de Maintenon, he being unable to understand its provisions. Similar falsehoods were undoubtedly circulated in Paris; but it is uncertain whether any of them appeared in print.

was unanimously declared regent by *right of birth*. This, however, was but an indirect attack on the testament of the late king; it only asserted a principle tacitly admitted in the will itself; but it involved a far more important principle—that there existed fundamental laws of the French monarchy which could not be changed at the discretion of any sovereign, living or dead.

The regent, with consummate art, now assailed the restrictions. He declared that a single council of regency would be unable to regulate the complicated affairs of the kingdom. Instead of this, he proposed to have a separate council* for each department of state, the results of whose deliberations should be submitted to the council of regency. It was further desirable, he said, that as regent he should have the power of summoning to his aid the persons most competent to give him advice. Injustice had been done by excluding the Duc de Bourbon from the council of regency until he had attained his twenty-fourth year; it was due to his illustrious descent that he should not only be admitted, but that he should hold the first place, as his illustrious ancestor had done under the last regency in France.† Admission ought also to be granted immediately to the Prince de Conti, he being of royal blood, and having, therefore, a claim by birth to this high privilege. This proposal insidiously drew a strong distinction between the princes of the blood and the legitimated princes; but, at the same time, was so skilfully brought forward, that the latter could not venture to resist the arrangement.

Thus far the regent had carried with him the unanimous voices of the assembly. He perceived his advantage: the will was already a dead letter; it only remained to assail the provisions of the codicil, which gave the Duc de Maine the education of the young king, the absolute command of the royal guards, and the entire control of the civil household. A profound silence reigned throughout the assembly as the regent approached the consideration of these important points. He declared that the education of the king could not be intrusted to a personage better qualified than the Duc de Maine; but he insisted that, as regent, he had

* This plan was originally suggested in the scheme of a constitutional government, sketched by Archbishop Fénélon, and which the French people believed would have been adopted, had the Duke of Burgundy (the second dauphin) succeeded to the crown. By appealing to the authority of this beloved prince, the regent greatly strengthened his argument, and indirectly refuted the calumnies which implicated him in the dauphin's death.

† That of Anne of Austria, which, by the way, was rather an inapplicable and infelicitous precedent.

a right to command all the forces of the kingdom, the household troops included; and he declared that it would be a degradation to make the Duc de Bourbon, the grand master of the household, subordinate to the Duc de Maine.*

The Duc de Maine replied in a vigorous and manly speech. He said that he had not sought the powers conferred upon him by the late king; but that, as he had been intrusted with the education of the infant monarch, and consequently with the safety of his person, it would obviously be unfair to impose upon him so grave a responsibility unless it were accompanied by military and civil authority over the king's household. He demanded, therefore, that his power should be defined with exactitude and precision, in order that his guardianship might not be a mere empty title and a vain appearance of authority.

The justice and moderation of this speech made a profound impression upon the assembly, which was strengthened by the discussion that ensued between the regent and the Duc de Maine. St. Simon saw that the regent was injuring his cause by continuing the debate; and he therefore proposed that he and the Duc de Maine should retire into another room and endeavor to conclude some amicable arrangement, to be submitted to the vote of the Parliament. This seemed so plausible a proposition that it was at once adopted. The regent and the Duc de Maine, each accompanied by a few friends, retired to one of the committee-rooms, while the Parliament awaited the result of their discussion in anxious silence. Their absence was protracted: men began to converse in whispers, and the result appeared every moment more doubtful. At length, the Duc de la Force, who had gone out with the regent, entered, and whispered to St. Simon that matters were going on badly at the conference; and he begged him to break it up, and bring back the Duke of Orleans. On his return, he proposed that the sitting of the Parliament should be suspended until after dinner, and that advantage should be taken of the interval to canvas individually those peers and magistrates who were likely to support the Duc de Maine. St. Simon acted promptly on this sage advice; the regent returned to the chamber of Parliament; the Duc de Maine, who was not aware of the golden opportunity he was casting away, came with him, and joined in

* This was a point on which the princes of the blood, and indeed most of the nobility, felt particularly sore. Had the arrangement been ratified by the Parliament, it is more than probable that the Duc de Bourbon would either have openly resisted or resigned his office.

proposing that the final decision should be delayed until after dinner.

The morning sitting of the French Parliament commenced at nine, and was suspended at one, when an adjournment took place for dinner. They met again at three, and remained in deliberation until six, at which hour the court invariably rose. If affairs of urgent importance were under consideration, the magistrates, instead of going home, retired to a refreshment-room, supported at the public expense within the precincts of the palace. Here they were served with various viands, among which spiced cakes and claret were so conspicuous that they passed into a proverb for the perquisites of judges. The regent, accompanied by the Ducs de St. Simon and De Noailles, went to dine at the Palais Royal: the king's councillors and others were hastily summoned; and on their appearance the regent explained that the question at issue was whether he or the Duc de Maine should govern France, since the command of the household troops would render the latter absolute master of the lives and liberties of the regent and his ministers.

During the absence of the regent, his friends were not idle. They represented to the magistrates that a government of councils would open new paths of power to all who possessed abilities as statesmen; that to concur in the arrangements ordained by Louis XVI. would be to please the will of a deceased monarch above the privileges of the Parliament; that the Duc de Maine, the nominee of Madame de Maintenon and the Jesuits, would be sure to support the bull *Unigenitus*, so adverse to the liberties of the Gallican church; and, finally, that the regent, so notorious for his admiration of the British constitution, would be disposed to grant a similar one to France.* These representations had the desired effect. Had a vote been taken before dinner, it would probably have been in favor of the Duc de Maine: when the Parliament assembled after dinner, he had not a chance even of a respectable minority.

On the return of the Duke of Orleans, two important notes

* Capefigue gives a very amusing description of the regent's return to the refreshment rooms, and his renewal of his discussion with the Duc de Maine, while St. Simon and Noailles went round bribing and promising every one whose vote they could influence. The only objection to the story is, that there is not a word of truth in it from beginning to end. St. Simon himself informs us that when he and the regent returned to the Palais de Justice they found the Parliament in full session.

were put into his hands,—one from Lord Stair, declaring that the moment for decisive action had arrived; the other from the Count de Guiche, stating that the guards were ready to suppress by force the least sign of opposition to the unrestricted regency. The regent's second address to the Parliament was infinitely more firm in its tone than that he delivered in the early sitting. He indirectly condemned the policy of the late king in excluding the Parliament from power, and hazarding the liberties of the Gallican church; declaring that he only sought to be freed from the restrictions of the will in order to associate Parliament with himself in administering the affairs of the country, and in securing the independence of their ecclesiastical establishment. The fate of the will was decided before he had concluded; the Duc de Maine made no attempt to defend it; he grew pale and red by turns, but he saw that it was useless to attempt a reply. How could he hope to persuade the Parliament to abandon the last chance of recovering its ancient privileges?

M. Joly de Fleury, perceiving the temper of the assembly, resolved to get rid not merely of the will but of the codicil. He therefore asked the regent to explain what were his views respecting the superintendence and guardianship of the young monarch! The Duke of Orleans boldly required the command of the household troops and the complete control of the civil servants. D'Aguesseau and Joly de Fleury developed the regent's plan of government at great length, dwelling strongly on the accession of power it would give to the Parliament. The Duc de Maine very feebly resisted; he merely said that, if deprived of the command of the troops and the direction of the servants of the palace, he must insist on being released from all responsibility for the security of the royal person, but that he would still continue to superintend the king's education. More than one individual present must have felt that this protest against responsibility implied a reference to the charges which ascribed the deaths of both the dauphins to the Duke of Orleans. This was imprudent; it exposed all who might have voted for restrictions to the imputation of having done so because they believed the regent capable of attempting the life of his sovereign, and this was too invidious to be hazarded against one who, under any circumstances, was to be at the head of the government.

The question having been put by the president, all the propositions of the regent were adopted without amendment or opposition, and they were immediately embodied in a formal decree of

Parliament.* Thus perished all the precautionary measures which Louis XIV. had so carefully prepared: all the arrangements of his will were set aside; the bar of bastardy was again affixed to the escutcheon of his legitimated sons, for it was declared to be derogatory to the princes of the blood that any of them should receive orders from the Duc de Maine. The organization which the monarch had framed so anxiously, to continue his system during the minority of his grandson, was torn to pieces by a simple vote of Parliament; and the Duke of Orleans received absolute and unrestricted authority. He had managed the matter with the skill and tact of a master; once committed, he pushed steadily onwards and carried the Parliament with him, by persuading that body generally, and all its divisions separately, that their interests were identified with his own. But even had he failed with the Parliament, he was perfectly prepared to have

* The following is an exact translation of the edict from the Parliamentary record: "On this day at a full court, all the chambers being assembled, including the princes of the blood, and the peers herebefore named, after the opening of the will of the late king, deposited with the clerks of the court according to his edict of August 1714, and the decree of the 29th of that month, together with the codicils of the 13th of April and 23d of August, 1715, brought by the Duke of Orleans; and having heard their purport explained by the king's councillors; the subject being taken into consideration; THIS COURT HAS DECLARED AND DOES DECLARE,

"That M. the Duke of Orleans shall be regent in France, and possess by such title the administration of the affairs of the kingdom during the minority of the king. It further ordains, that the Duc de Bourbon shall from henceforth be chief of the council of regency under the authority of the Duke of Orleans, and shall preside over it during his absence; that the princes of the blood shall be admitted into the same council when they have attained the age of twenty-three years. And after the declaration of the Duke of Orleans, that he intends to conform to the plurality of voices of the said council of regency in all cases, save appointments, employments, benefices and graces, which he shall grant according to his good pleasure, after having consulted the said council of regency, but without being bound by the plurality of voices, THE COURT ORDAINS that he shall form the council of regency, and such other inferior councils as he shall think fit, admitting to them the persons he shall deem most worthy, according to the project which the Duke of Orleans has promised to communicate to the court. That the Duc de Maine shall superintend the education of the king; but that the entire command of the troops of the royal household, even of those employed in guarding the person of the king, shall rest with the Duke of Orleans, and that the Duc de Maine shall have no authority over the Duc de Bourbon, grand-master of the royal household. It is further ordained that duplicates of this decree shall be sent to the other parliaments of the kingdom, and certified copies to all bailiwicks and seneschalships, to be there read, published and registered."

seized the regency by force; the troops were under arms at their appointed stations; their commander was in one of the lanterns prepared to give the signal at the slightest appearance of doubt or hesitation.* It is rare to find a statesman fail who united so much resolution with so much caution.

The Duc de Maine showed an utter want of energy and political aptitude during the entire affair. If he had taken half the precautions of the Duke of Orleans, he would, at all events, have retained the command of the household troops, so essential to his protection of the person of the young king. But he conceived that the supremacy of Louis XIV. would be still remembered: habituated to see the implicit obedience which that great monarch commanded, he could not believe that such an immense authority would, "like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a wreck behind," before his corpse was shrouded in his coffin. He was so astounded that he did not even venture to offer a protest, while his brother and son seemed to regard the matter as indifferent spectators.

So soon as the decision of the Parliament had been reduced to a legal form, and signed by the presidents, it was read aloud and hailed with the loudest acclamations. What is more surprising, the intelligence spread universal joy throughout Paris. Hitherto the Duke of Orleans had been detested in that city; he had been hissed and hooted as a poisoner; his carriage had been attacked and his life endangered; songs and ballads in every market and from every stall, assailed him as the murderer of the popular Duke and Duchess of Burgundy; but now he was greeted as the regenerator of the nation, because he had raised the Parliament from the state of degradation to which it had been reduced in the late reign.

Ever since the days of the Fronde, the Parliament had been in a state of continuous decay; its right of remonstrance had first been restrained and then entirely abolished; it had been compelled to register royal edicts not only without opposition, but even without comment or observation. If any councillors proved mutinous, they were silenced by the unanswerable argument of a file of musketeers. But now the Parliament had decided by its own authority one of the most solemn questions of the monarchy; it had set aside one of the most important acts of royalty, and it had virtually combined legislative functions with its judicial ca-

* Lord Stair is said to have manifested impatience at the delays occasioned by the legal forms and tedious ceremonials of the Parliament.

pacity. Not the least singular instance of the regent's skill was the keeping the legislative part of the proceeding out of view; for he was just as little prepared to submit to the supremacy of the Parliament as Louis XIV. himself. Hence he took the utmost care to recognize the parliamentary edict as nothing more than a judicial decision on a controverted point of constitutional law, which could not consequently be drawn into a precedent for legislation.

His speech of thanks to the Parliament was at once cautious and seductive. He protested that he would employ the authority with which he had been invested, solely for the good of the state; he expressed a hope that all who were present would aid him with their advice when any question of difficulty arose; and he declared that he would immediately apply himself to the task of reforming the administration. In the executing of this duty he declared his intention of being guided by the example and instructions of the late Duke of Burgundy, who had left behind him the wisest plans of government in a casket which had been found after his death. To put an end to the calumnies which had charged him with the poisoning of that prince, he pronounced a brief but brilliant eulogy on his memory, declaring that his premature death was an irreparable loss to France.* He then averred that, in addition to the council of regency, he intended to institute councils of foreign affairs—of war—of the marine—of finances—of ecclesiastical affairs, and of the interior; and to choose magistrates out of the company present for the places in the two last-named councils, that by their intelligence and knowledge of jurisprudence he might be enabled to provide for the police of the kingdom and the liberties of the Gallican Church.

This speech was received by the magistrates with loud applause, and their cheers were re-echoed by the multitude. The first president made a brief complimentary address to the regent; a hasty decree was adopted exonerating the Duc de Maine from the charge and guardianship of the king's person; and the session thus terminated, having in one day destroyed all that Louis XIV. had spent half a century in establishing.†

* "In this second session the regent professed to have taken his plans of government from the papers of the Duke of Burgundy. It is impossible to express the impression produced by the mention of the august name of this lamented prince."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxv.

† "No claim to the regency was made during the day on the part of the King of Spain, though he had sent peremptory instructions enjoining his ambassador, Cellamare, to protest that the regency belonged of right to him

From the Parliament the regent at once proceeded to the Palace of Versailles. The hour was late, and he was anxious to give the young king an account of what had been done before he retired to rest. But the news of his success had reached Versailles before him; a crowd of courtiers assembled to receive him; and none were more humble in their homage, than those who, a few months before, had refused to treat him with the ordinary courtesy due to his rank. Accompanied by the princes of the blood, he entered the room where Louis XV., the boy-king, was seated with his governess.* The legitimated princes had not been invited to attend, and their absence seemed to prove, that they had acquiesced in the distinction made between them and the princes of the blood. After the regent's private audience, he introduced to the young king all the nobles, courtiers, and officers, who happened to be at Versailles; and the total want of order with which this ceremony was conducted shocked those who had been accustomed to the rigid etiquette of Louis XIV.

After leaving the king, the regent visited Madame, who received her son with open arms and warmly congratulated him on his triumph. It was on this occasion that she asked, and received from him, his solemn promise that he would never employ Dubois as a minister; a promise he violated almost as soon as it was made.† He next visited his daughter, the Duchess de Berri, who received the intelligence he brought with rapture, anticipating that under the regency she would be allowed to act the part of queen. It was the Duc de St. Simon who told the news to the Duchess of Orleans. She heard the unexpected news as one who felt more keenly the degradation of her brothers than the elevation of her husband.

While the regent triumphed at Versailles, a very different reception awaited the Duc de Maine at his home. His duchess, small as she was in stature, had all the spirit of the House of Condé, and the rage with which she was inspired by mortified ambi-

as next heir to the throne. Cellamare wrote back word, that the king's claim to the regency would be unanimously rejected, but that his right of accession to the throne, in case of a vacancy, would be as unanimously recognized."—*Essai sur la Conspiration de Cellamare.*

* The *Mercure* says, that the boy-king burst into tears when first addressed by a royal title. Duclos attributes the agitation of the child not to sensibility, but to the emotions produced by the unusual excitement around him. He was, indeed, by nature a shy and timid child.

† The regent probably attributed his mother's dislike of Dubois to the active part the abbé had taken in his marriage as Duke of Orleans to a natural daughter of Louis XIV., which he regarded as a very venial offence.

tion, knew no bounds. She launched fierce invectives against the poltroonery of her husband; attributed to his weakness the success of the Duke of Orleans, and even raised her hand to strike him. The poor Duc de Maine submitted with patience to the little fury, who could not continue to scold where she met with such complete acquiescence; but she consoled herself by setting all the wits of her court to write lampoons against the regent.

CHAPTER XV.

REMOVAL IN STATE OF THE YOUNG KING TO VINCENNES.—ITS CASTLE.—THE DUCHESS DE VENTADOUR AND VILLEROY.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE REGENT AND MADAME DE MAINTENON.—ANECDOTE OF THEM.—M. AMELOT AND THE POPE.—LOUIS XV. IN HIS BOYHOOD.—HIS PERSON AND CHARACTER.—HE VISITS THE PARLIAMENT.—THE FORMS AND SPEECHES THAT TOOK PLACE THERE.—ARCHBISHOP FENELON.—THE NEW COUNCILS.—THEIR CHIEFS AND PRESIDENTS.—THE FINANCES OF FRANCE.—EXPEDIENTS FOR LESSENING THE DEBT.—TREATMENT OF CONTRACTORS AND FINANCIERS.—THE FOUR BROTHERS.—PARIS.—POLICY OF THE REGENT IN RELATION TO THE ENGLISH PRETENDER.—COLONEL DOUGLAS AND MADAME LOSPITAL.—MADAME'S ESTIMATE OF THE ENGLISH NATION.

Louis XIV. had ordered, that immediately after his death, the young prince should be removed from Versailles to Vincennes, where the air was supposed to be more salubrious. This was the only one of his last commands that was obeyed, for it alone suited the convenience of the regent. Vincennes is situated almost at the gates of Paris, and while the king resided there, the duke could visit him every day, without losing any of the pleasures or dissipations of the capital. An unexpected opposition was made to the young king's removal by the physicians of the court; they were far more comfortably lodged at Versailles than they could be at Vincennes; and of course they declared that the air was most salubrious in the spot they found most convenient. All the officers of the household, for the same reason, loudly approved the decision of the doctors. The regent, on the other hand, summoned the medical men of Paris, whose interest it was to have the court as near as possible; and who differed from their brethren of Versailles, assigning reasons equally plausible, and probably equally disinterested, for giving the preference to Vincennes.

Thither, accordingly, without passing through Paris, the young king was removed, on the very day of the funeral of Louis XIV.

As if to compensate for the meanness of the funeral of the late king, the procession of the boy-monarch to Vincennes displayed the gorgeous pomp of royalty. All the state carriages were drawn out; the body-guards and the regiments of black musketeers, preceded by their trumpets and cymbals, escorted the *cortége*, which advanced slowly through two lines of the French guards, extending along the entire road, and with them were mingled crowds of the citizens, who were anxious to see and salute their young sovereign.

Louis XV. sat on the knees of the Duchess de Ventadour, having the regent on his right, and the Duc de Maine on his left. It was observed that he looked pale and sickly, and wearied rather than interested by the shouts of the crowd. No cheers were raised for the regent in the presence of the king, and probably this silence was intended for a significant hint that the old suspicions of his designs on the throne had not fallen into utter oblivion.

The castle of Vincennes, to which the judicial murder of the Duc d'Enghien has given such a mournful interest, was very different in 1715 from what it is now. Its fortifications and towers were as ancient as the fourteenth century, but they had been repaired and extended in the sixteenth, gaining little by the change in architectural beauty. The old forest by which it was surrounded, now sadly denuded of its timber, then stood almost untouched. A long avenue had been made in the direction of Saint Mandè, and this was almost the only point from which a view could be obtained of the square towers of Vincennes. On the other sides giant trees, the Nestors of the forest, extended their branches over the fosse, and seemed almost to touch the ramparts. An edifice, of moderate size, had been erected within the walls, for the accommodation of the young king; and here his faithful guards were able to save him from any violence of popular insurrection, while more insidious dangers were guarded against by the Duchess de Ventadour, who watched over her charge by night and day, never allowing any person whatever to see him, except in her presence. Villeroy, whom scandal designated her lover, was associated with her in this charge. Already the enemies of the Duke of Orleans compared the duchess to Jehosheba, who saved the royal infant Joash in the temple.*

* 2 Kings, chap. xi. Grange Chancel uses this scriptural allusion in his satirical odes (the Philippics), and also compares Villeroy to Abner, the old and faithful warrior of Judah.

Before leaving Versailles, the regent paid a long visit to his old enemy Madame de Maintenon—a noble action, if it had arisen from a desire to show that, in consideration of her afflictions, he had forgiven her hostility; but there is reason to believe that his purpose was to triumph in her mortification, at the defeat of the projects she had formed for the elevation of the Duc de Maine. He treated her with great politeness, promised that her monthly pension should be regularly paid; declared that he would protect her establishment at St. Cyr; and tenderly inquired whether there was anything else in his power to do for her comfort and pleasure. If this tone were assumed, Madame de Maintenon was not deceived by it: she replied in the most measured terms of frigid politeness.

They met afterwards occasionally, maintaining the outward forms of mutual respect, and parting—it may readily be supposed—with large additions to the rancor of their hostility.* The Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV., Le Tellier, had been chosen by that monarch to be the confessor of his grandson; as he could not enter on his office until Louis XV. had attained the age of manhood, he applied to the regent to be informed respecting his destination in the interval. "That is no concern of mine," replied the prince; "you must address yourself to the superiors of your order." The dismissal of Le Tellier was a decided triumph to the Jansenist party, who justly attributed the odious bull *Unigenitus* to his intrigues. Decisive evidence of his share in its production had been obtained at the very commencement of the regency. Louis XIV., influenced by his Jesuit advisers, was anxious to destroy Jansenism, not merely in France, but throughout Catholic Christendom; so soon as the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht had restored tranquillity to Europe, he sent one of his best councillors of state, M. Amelot,† to induce the pope to con-

* "I asked my son the other day how Madame de Maintenon was. He answered: 'She is surprisingly well.' I said, 'Can that be possible at her age?' He laughed and said, 'Do you not know that God, in order to punish the devil, has condemned him to live a long term of years in her ugly carcass?'"—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† Amelot bore the highest reputation both as a judge and a statesman. He had been for some months ambassador in Spain, where he entered into a close alliance with the Princess d'Ursins. After he returned to France he fell into temporary disgrace, having being suspected of Jansenism. He contrived, however, to recover the favor of Louis XIV., and was even entrusted with the embassy to Rome. The incident recorded in the text shows that he was not disposed to favor the policy of the Jesuits; and, had the life of Louis XIV. been protracted, Amelot would probably have

voke a general council. That pontiff evaded the demand, and even expressed sorrow for having issued the mischievous bull. "If Le Père Tellier," said the pope, "had not convinced me of the absolute power of the king, I should not have hazarded that constitution." Amelot, encouraged by the confidence of the pope, said to him, "But why, holy father, instead of this condemnation *in globo* of so many different propositions, did you not limit yourself to the few that were really reprehensible, which of course could be found in any book whatever, if carefully sought after?" "Oh, my dear Amelot," answered the pontiff, "Le Père Tellier had told the king, that there were more than a hundred censurable propositions in Quesnel's book: he did not wish to pass for a liar; he held me by the throat to force me to censure more than a hundred. I added only one more, though they wanted me to censure one hundred and three."

After having conducted Louis XV. to Vincennes, the regent held a council, at which the ministers of the late king sat provisionally; for nothing could be definitively settled until Louis XV. had taken his seat in the Parliament of Paris, and this was eagerly desired by the judicial body. But the boy-king,* to whom such tedious ceremonies were most wearisome, and who had a

been recalled and imprisoned. But, as he had anticipated the policy of the regency, he might have expected honor and reward from the new government, had not his former connection with the Princess d'Ursins exposed him to suspicion and odium. It was long before the regent admitted him into any of the councils of state; finally he nominated him President of the Council of Commerce, an office he discharged with singular ability.

* Madame gives the following account of Louis XV. in his boyhood: at the date of the description he was between ten and eleven years of age. "It would be impossible to find a more agreeable child than our young king. He has large black eyes, and long arched brows; a beautiful complexion, a charming little mouth; long and thick brown hair, small red cheeks, an erect and well-poised figure, and pretty hands and feet. His gait is noble, but rather haughty. He wears his hat like the late king. His oval face is neither too long nor too short; his only defect, which he inherits from his mother (Adelaide of Savoy), is, that he changes color from one half-hour to another. Sometimes he has a sickly aspect, but in about half-an-hour his color returns. His manners are easy; and it may be said without flattery, that he dances well. He shows much adroitness in everything he undertakes. He has already begun to shoot partridges and pheasants; he has quite a passion for fowling. He resembles his mother as much as one drop of water does another. He has wit; but it would be well if he were sometimes more affable. He is terribly proud, and knows already what respect is. He has what they call an enchanting look; but his appearance is milder than his character, for he is both passionate and obstinate."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

childish fear of the judicial periwigs, showed the greatest reluctance to meeting the Parliament. Whenever the Duchess de Ventadour endeavored to persuade the royal infant to set out for Paris, he pretended to be sick,* and rebelled against the authority of his governess. On one occasion he became quite sulky and refused any food, so that they were obliged to take him to the Trianons, where his health and appetite returned together.† But notwithstanding his reluctance, the forms of the constitution required that he should attend the Parliament and hold a *bed of justice,* which was deemed an essential solemnity, in order to confirm the judicial authority of the members of the court.

On the 12th September, 1715, the king, accompanied by the Duchess de Ventadour and the Duc de Villeroy,‡ set out from the castle of Vincennes in royal state: the cannon of the Bastile announced the monarch's arrival at the Port St. Antoine. Here he was met by the municipal authorities of the city of Paris, in their scarlet robes; they presented an address to his majesty on the honor he had done them by deigning to visit his good city of Paris. Louis XV. replied by a smile and clapped his little hands. The worthy citizens then very appropriately presented him with a tray of cakes, sweetmeats, and other childish luxuries, which the king accepted with thanks, and seemed to regard as at once the most pleasing and the most sensible part of the ceremony.

In the meantime the several chambers of the Parliament, convoked by the President de Mesmes, had assembled in the *Palais de Justice.* On this occasion there was no opportunity of raising a discussion on the great question Saint Simon had so much at heart concerning the privileges of hats and coronets, and the privileges of mortar-caps. At a *bed of justice* all honors were due to the king alone; all presidents, with or without mortar-caps, were bound to meet the king at the gate, to conduct him into his court and to lead him to the bed of justice. So soon as the grand master of the ceremonies had announced that the king had reached

* Madame, writing in 1717, says: "On the 12th of August last the king fell out of bed in the morning; a valet-de chambre seeing him about to do so promptly threw himself on the ground, that the child, falling on him, should not be hurt. The young king maliciously crept under the bed and would not speak, in order to alarm his attendants."

† Capefigue, from MSS. in the National Library of Paris

‡ St. Simon, to whom the most minute point of etiquette was a matter of importance, is careful to record that the seats prepared for those guardians of the royal person were very low, and placed between the throne and the front rows of benches.

*la Sainte Chapelle** and was at prayers, a deputation of the presidents, wearing their scarlet robes trimmed with ermine, advanced to meet him. The first chamberlain bore the king in his arms from his carriage to the gate, where the Duc de Tresmes, who acted as grand chamberlain, took him and carried him through the line of presidents to the throne.† It was a curious spectacle —this royal child with his pale and meagre face, surrounded by the aged magistrates and the peers of his kingdom with their enormous black wigs and their gorgeous robes of state. Loyalty was at that period identified with religion in France; the noble, the brave, the wise, the aged, united in their dutiful homage to the crown, though worn on the head of an infant.

When the child had rested for a moment on the cushion, he took off his hat, and then immediately putting it on again, said, as he had been instructed, in a clear but tremulous voice, "My lords and gentlemen, I am come here to assure you of my affection: my chancellor will declare to you my pleasure." Immediately, according to the established usage, the chancellor, in his long violet gown, knelt before the bed of justice, and demanded the king's permission to address the Parliament. It was granted by a slight nod: the chancellor (Voysin) then delivered an eloquent harangue, expressing his sorrow for the late king, his anticipations of the brilliant career that awaited the present monarch; but above all, lauding to the skies the Regent Orleans, "whose penetrating and sublime intelligence had already divined all the necessities of the state."

This speech was greatly admired. On its conclusion the President de Mesmes required all the members present to fall on their knees, and assuming the same posture himself, requested permission to address his majesty. It was given by the chancellor in the king's name. M. de Mesmes then arose, and amid the profound silence of the Parliament addressed the king in the following terms:—"Sire, royalty is immortal in France, though kings, like the least of their subjects, must obey the laws of nature. Of this the great Louis has furnished a sad proof: this cruel event

* The restoration of La Sainte Chapelle, to which *Le Lutrin*, of Boileau, has given such interest, was in progress before the late revolution. Whoever may be the future rulers of France, it is to be hoped that they will complete this work, and preserve one of the most beautiful specimens of Gothic architecture to be found in Paris.

† St. Simon says that this service devolved on the Duc de Tresmes, because the Duc d'Albret, to whom it properly belonged, had not yet taken the oath.

afflicts and terrifies all the orders of the kingdom, and penetrates with profound grief this, the first tribunal of the state. But at the fatal moment when the greatest king of the world ceases to live, your majesty, by right of your birth, begins to reign. This is the cause of the august ceremony, which assembles to-day in the sanctuary of justice, the court of Peers and all that is most noble and influential in the land. This it is which attracts hither, by the love we have for our kings and by the gorgeousness of the ceremony, an extraordinary multitude of people of every age and of every condition. All emulously crowd to behold you on your bed of justice, as the visible image of God on earth, to see you there exercise the first and most brilliant of the functions of royalty, and to receive the homage, the submission, and the solemn oath of inviolable fidelity of your kingdom. Besides this general protestation, the Parliament beseeches your majesty to be persuaded, that being attached to the throne by the strictest and most immediate relations, it will always consider as the most indispensable of its duties that of sustaining the throne and defending its rights and privileges."

The President de Mesmes was more brief than usual: he saw that the royal child was getting weary of the bed of justice, and he therefore hastened to bring his harangue to a conclusion. When he had finished, the chancellor collected the votes in confirmation of the decrees for the establishment of the regency, adopted at the preceding session, and these decrees were then embodied in a royal ordinance,* to which the boy-king, still sitting on the bed of justice, gave his formal assent.

A plurality of councils had been the favorite project of the second dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, to whom it was probably suggested by his preceptor, Archbishop Fénélon.† Louis XIV.

* The preamble to this ordinance is a precious specimen of hypocritical eulogy. It states: "The late king of glorious memory, our great grandfather, had prowess that enabled him to be adequate of himself alone to the government of the kingdom; but the weakness of our age demands greater succor and support, and though we could obtain all the aids of which we stand in need, in the person of our dearly beloved uncle, the Duke of Orleans, his modesty leads him to believe that it would be desirable—at least in the beginning of our reign, to establish several councils, where the principal matters which require the attention of the sovereign may be discussed."

† Fénélon had been exiled from the court by Louis XIV. because he seemed to favor Jansenist opinions in his work entitled "Maxims of the Saints." It was in his retirement at Cambrai that he wrote Telemaque, the hero being intended to represent the Duke of Burgundy. Fénélon

had made his government an immense and strong centralization of all authority in the hands of the secretaries of state, who were so subordinate to him that the direction of everything was in the hands of the king. The plan of the Duke of Burgundy,* now adopted by the regent, was a positive reaction against the unity effected by Louis XIV. It substituted a quite different organization and a perfectly distinct hierarchy. The regent, in fact, only followed the stream of public opinion: people had become weary of the unity which rendered everything dependent on a single individual will: there was a general desire to establish political independence somewhere; the plurality of councils was destined to satisfy this tendency of opinions; and the greatest care was taken in selecting the most appropriate measures for the several special boards.

At the head of all was the council of regency. It consisted of the Duc de Bourbon, first prince of the blood; the Duc de Maine, and the Count de Toulouse, legitimated sons of Louis XIV., by Madame de Montespan; the chancellor and Marshal Villeroy, both nominated by the late king; the Duc de St. Simon introduced, by the personal friendship of the regent, the Marshals d'Harcourt and de Bezons; and, the Marquis de Torcy, who had charge of the reports to be submitted to the regency.

The first council which was organized was the one entrusted with the ecclesiastical administration, and therefore called the council of conscience. The patrons of the Jesuits and of the bull *Unigenitus* were greatly alarmed at the prospect of the presidency of this council being given to the Cardinal de Noailles, who was the declared enemy of both. The Cardinals de Rohan and de Bissy, the papal nuncio Bentivoglio, and a great number of other ecclesiastics, raised the cry that religion was in danger, and besought the nobles to interfere in defence of the privileges of the church. They were preparing to send a messenger to Rome, to

would probably have been prime minister if the second dauphin had ascended the throne. Even after the death of the duke he hoped to obtain office under the regency, through the interest of his friends the Ducs de Chevreuse and Beauvilliers; but the death of both baffled these expectations, and he soon followed them to the grave. How different had been the fate of France if Fénélon had occupied the place of Dubois!

* The ordinance positively states that the plan had been framed by the Duke of Burgundy. "This form of government has appeared the more suitable to our dear uncle, the Duke of Orleans, that it was traced by our honored father. He was persuaded, when all the authority of each department of the administration was united in the hands of one minister, though its weight became often too great for a single person to bear."

procure a friendly brief from the pope, asking as a favor from the regent that he would not admit Noailles to any share of ecclesiastical administration; but St. Simon having discovered the intrigue, induced the regent to make the appointment without delay. When the remonstrances arrived from Rome the council was already organized; and the remonstrances themselves were so mild, not to say cold, that it was evident the pope did not attach much importance to the matter.

Next to the Cardinal de Noailles was the Archbishop of Bordeaux, a moderate man, who had not joined either party in the French Church. The other members were the Abbé Pucalle, one of the clerical councillors of Parliament, where he had always been a vehement opponent of the Jesuits. Daguesseau* and Joli de Henry, the two most eminent lawyers of the kingdom, were the lay members.

Marshal Villeroy was named chief of the council of finance; but the real direction of this branch of the administration devolved on the Duc de Noailles, who had the title of president.† He placed his chief confidence in Rouillé de Coudray,‡ a perfectly honest man, of great intelligence and learning, but a notorious winebibber, a complete profligate, and not a little rude in his language.§

Marshal Villars was appointed chief of the council of war, having the Duc de Guiche‖ under him as president. The Mar-

* Daguesseau would have been appointed chancellor by Louis XIV., as he subsequently was by the regent, had not he and his wife been suspected of Jansenism. He narrowly escaped removal from his office of procureur-general, for his opposition to the registration of the constitution, and the bull *Unigenitus*.

† He was the brother of Marshal de Bezons, who had been added to the council of regency, as a personal friend of the Duke of Orleans.

‡ One day, in full council, when he expressed himself with more than ordinary freedom in the presence of the regent, the Duc de Noailles said to him, "Monsieur Rouillé, that smacks of the bottle." "My lord duke," he replied, "it may smack of the bottle, but not of the bribe!" The humor of the reply is lost in English, but in French *pot de vin* is a cant name for a bribe.—*Mémoires de Duclos.*

§ "The desire of pleasing all parties led him to play parts generally extravagant, often ridiculous, and sometimes humiliating. A devotee or a libertine, according to circumstances, he brought disgrace upon himself in Spain by proposing a mistress to Philip V. He afterwards followed Madame de Maintenon to church; and at the commencement of the regency took an opera-girl into keeping to be in the fashion."—*Mémoires de Duclos.*

‖ The Duc de Guiche was badly qualified for this office, but it was given to him as a reward for placing his regiment of guards at the disposal of the

shal d'Estrées and Tessé were placed at the head of the council of Marine. D'Estrées was a naval officer of some reputation. As a reward of his services to Philip V., that monarch had raised him to the rank of a grandee of Spain. He found the maritime affairs of France in a state of great disorder; and he had particularly to complain of the timber most suited to ship-building having been taken from the royal forests and sold by the officers entrusted with their administration. The Marshal d'Huxelles was placed at the head of the council of foreign affairs, though in the late reign he had been the avowed partisan of the legitimated princes, and a strenuous supporter of the anti-English policy of Louis XIV. With him was associated the Marquis de Torcy, the most able of the French diplomatists. Finally, the minister of the interior consisted of the Duc d'Antin, the Marquis d'Harley, M. Premier, M. de Goissard, and M. d'Argenson.* The members of all the councils amounted to seventy or eighty persons, and they were chosen for the most part with great discrimination.† At the close of the reign of Louis XIV., the Jansenists had been proscribed; but at the commencement of the regency Jansenism was triumphant, and it became the turn of the Jesuits to suffer. Some of the most influential were unceremoniously exiled;‡ several were interdicted from preaching, and in many dioceses Jesuits were forbidden to give any instructions, or to hear any confessions. They

Duke of Orleans, on the important day when the question of the regency was decided by Parliament. He was also brother-in-law to the Duc de Noailles.

* We have already seen that, as lieutenant-general of police, D'Argenson was able to render important services to the Duke of Orleans when Louis XIV. was disposed to send him to trial on the charge of having poisoned the princes. His son, the Marquis d'Argenson, records the following anecdote in his memoirs: "My father told me that the Duke of Orleans felt such confidence in his innocence that he wished to go as a voluntary prisoner to the Bastile. My father answered him, 'Your royal highness speaks like a young prince; but believe me, whatever the cause or charge of his imprisonment, a prince is quite powerless when he is in the Bastile.'"

† Among the many epigrams directed against the regent, we find one which alludes to the multiplication of councillors and councils. It may be rendered:

"Frenchmen, do not be afraid
That cares of State will prove too weighty;
Since, summoned to the regent's aid,
The councils count no less than eighty."

‡ Le Tellier, the celebrated confessor of Louis XIV., was banished from Paris and condemned to live in obscurity.

made bitter complaints to Rome, but the pope was too cautious needlessly to offend the regent.

The finances of France were in a deplorable condition; but it was the policy of the regent and the council to represent them as worse even than they were. Desmarets, who had had the charge of this department in the late reign, had been forced to borrow enormous sums at an usurious rate of interest, and to pledge the public revenues as a security for payment.* The revenue of three years had been thus anticipated. A financial commission was appointed to investigate the accounts of the farmers-general and the contractors, who were publicly accused of having defrauded the nation. The current expenses of the State were about one hundred and forty-six millions of livres; there were in debts unfunded and immediately payable, three hundred and sixty-nine millions; while there were only seven or eight hundred thousand livres in the royal treasury, and not more than three million livres to be received from unpaid contributions. The sum total of the national debt was said to exceed three thousand millions of livres.† Such a state of affairs was frightful. St. Simon proposed a national bankruptcy; it was rejected with apparent horror; but it was the name, not the substance, of bankruptcy that was dreaded. The same effect was sought to be accomplished by indirect means: the entire occupation of the council of finance was to hit upon some contrivance by which the government might evade the payment of its debts.

Three expedients presented themselves: a debasement of the coin, a prosecution of the financers who were said to have enriched themselves at the expense of the State, and finally, a revision of the claims of all the creditors of the state, for the purpose of suppressing some and reducing others, under the pretext of usurious profits. All holders of coin were ordered to carry it to the mint and exchange it for the new currency; all persons holding state-bonds were enjoined to present them for verification; and finally, as we have mentioned, a special judicial commission was issued for the immediate investigation of all financial frauds.

* This was not the sole evil; the money, thus lent to the crown and expended in ruinous wars, was the capital which ought to have been invested in manufactures and employed in developing the resources of the country. Trade and industry of every kind languished in consequence: the productive powers to support taxation were ruinously diminished at the very time the pressure of taxation was rendered most severe.

† The most vague notions prevailed respecting the amount of this debt. We have taken the estimate of Lemongey.

The old louis d'or which passed for fourteen livres, was received at the mint for sixteen, and having been recoined, and without any change of weight, was immediately issued at twenty. This operation was a clear fraud of twenty per cent. at one blow. The verification of the bonds was entrusted to four brothers, named Paris,* the sons of a poor innkeeper in the maritime Alps, who executed the task with great promptitude and skill. Six hundred millions having been verified, an edict was issued cancelling these bonds, and ordering them to be replaced by State bonds for two hundred and fifty millions, bearing an interest of four per cent.† It might have been supposed that such prodigious spoliation would have caused universal clamors and discontent; but no such result followed. The creditors of the State did not stand high in public favor; the nobles despised them, and the taxpayers regarded them as leeches thirsting for their blood. Those who had lost two-thirds of their due were obliged to hold their tongues lest they should see the remaining third likewise swept away. The proceedings of the special commission were still more arbitrary, inquisitorial, and cruel in their proceedings. They treated the contractors and financiers as thieves and malefactors. If the financier rendered an imperfect account of his past management, he was fined at discretion; but if any culpability appeared, he was condemned to some punishment, which extended even to the galleys, and to a confiscation of property.‡ The commissioners made

* The history of the rise of these four brothers is very singular. Boucher, commissary general to Vendôme's army in Italy, though old, ugly, and gouty, was much addicted to gallantry. A young man, the chief clerk of the provision contractors, was young and handsome; he interfered with some of Boucher's intrigues, who determined on his ruin. He delayed a convoy on which Vendôme relied, resolving to throw the blame on the contractors. The clerk, aware of the danger to which he was exposed, but harassed by the mountain roads, had to pass on his way the little inn kept by old Paris, to whom he related his history, and the poor innkeeper told him that his sons were acquainted with by-roads which would greatly shorten his journey. By their aid the convoy reached Vendôme just as he had been compelled to halt from want of food. Boucher had thrown the blame upon the contractors and their agent; but the clerk told his story and Boucher was disgraced. The contractors took the four brothers into their service; they were found to be active, intelligent young men, and were rapidly promoted. After some time they became contractors themselves, and acquired large fortunes.

† By a fraud which long remained undetected, only one hundred and ninety-five millions were issued to the proprietors of the inspected bonds; the remaining fifty-five millions were applied to other purposes.

‡ The regent at first threatened them with the wheel and the gibbet: the populace of Paris, ever thirsty for blood, felt great indignation at the

large fortunes; the financiers soon found the means of coming to a secret understanding with their judges, and parted with their wealth to save their credit and reputation; for it was at first no uncommon spectacle to see wealthy financiers, with naked feet, chained as convicts, and with ropes round their necks, make the *amende honorable* at Notre Dame in the midst of robbers and other criminals. These exhibitions gave extraordinary pleasure to the people: who were consoled for their sufferings by witnessing the punishment of those whom they believed, however falsely, to have been the chief cause of their misery. Caricatures and songs were circulated in immense quantities, mocking the unfortunate financiers and entreating the government to deal with them still more harshly. The fines imposed upon these unfortunate men brought to the treasury the sum of sixty millions of livres; but probably as much more was extorted from the financiers in bribes to their judges and to particular favorites of the regent.

The money thus obtained was expended in paying the troops, to whom large arrears were due, and in discharging the debts owing to the citizens of Paris. It was probably the first time a government had obtained equal popularity by the means it employed to obtain money, and the mode in which that money was expended. But in spite of the extravagant eulogies bestowed on those measures at the time, we shall soon see that they were temporary expedients by which immediate relief was obtained; but that the return of the pressure, in a more aggravated form, rendered a recourse to other means certain and inevitable.

Before entering upon the strange history of the bubbles and speculations which, under the regency, deluded and disgraced Europe, we must briefly narrate an episode more closely allied to the annals of England than of France: we allude to the course of policy adopted by the regent in the brief struggle between the House of Hanover and the Pretender.

Louis XIV. had been deeply mortified at being compelled to sacrifice the son of James II., and to recognize, by the Treaty of Utrecht, the Protestant accession in England. He heard with pleasure that the accession of George I. had given deep dissatisfaction to a large party of the British, which had been greatly aggravated by the vindictive spirit in which the Whigs sought the ruin of their political adversaries. The Duke of Ormond

tenderness shown to men who for the most part were guilty of no crime but wealth. "It is cause and quarrel enough to bring a sheep to the shambles, that he be fat."

and Lord Bolingbroke were in exile; the Earl of Oxford was in the Tower; the Whig Parliament scarcely spoke of anything but impeachments and confiscations. An active correspondence was maintained between the Jacobites of England and Scotland and the court of the Pretender, then established at Bar, in the territories of the Duke of Lorraine. To this correspondence, and the intrigues arising from it, Louis XIV. and his ministers were no strangers: and had the life of the old king been spared for a few months longer, the rebellion of 1715 would probably have been aided by French and Spanish armies. We have seen that the Marquis de Torcy had continued in office under the regent, and had been entrusted with the management of diplomatic and foreign affairs. Adhering to the policy of Louis XIV., he aided, so far as he could, all the plans of the Jacobites. On the other hand, the personal friends of the regent—but especially the Abbé Dubois—were devoted to the cause of George I. and the English alliance. They furnished Lord Stair with an exact list of the noblemen and gentlemen who had agreed to take up arms for the Stuarts, and with a literal copy of all the correspondence between the Pretender and his partisans.

In consequence of information thus conveyed, Admiral Sir George Byng came into the road of Havre with a squadron, while Lord Stair demanded that certain ships which he named, and which he truly alleged to be equipped for the Pretender, should be given up by the French government. The regent complied so far as to order the ships to be unloaded, and the arms which they contained to be deposited in the king's stores.* This compliance

* After the Pretender's only armament had been thus wrested from him, the persistence of the Jacobites in their plans of insurrection must seem truly marvellous. On this subject Lord Mahon writes with his usual clearness and sagacity: "Under these circumstances, Bolingbroke dispatched an agent to London with dispatches to Lord Mar—that he understood it to be his lordship's opinion that Scotland could do nothing effectual without England—that England would not act without assistance from abroad, and that no assistance from abroad could be relied upon: and he requested his lordship to draw the inference from these three propositions. But this agent, on arriving in London and communicating with Erasmus Lewis, the late secretary to Lord Oxford and now an active member of the Jacobite conspiracy, learned that Mar had already gone to raise the Highlands. It is positively asserted by Berwick, that the Pretender, without any intimation either to himself or Bolingbroke, had sent orders to Mar to begin the insurrection without any further delay."

Lord Mahon impeaches the accuracy of Berwick's statement, though there can be no doubt of his veracity and means of information; but the commission to Mar, dated the 7th of September, 1715, and signed by the

was most unpopular; every chivalrous sentiment remaining among the nobility and gentry of France was enlisted in behalf of the young prince, who was about to expose his life for the recovery of his crown; and when he left Bar to traverse France, the Duc de Lauzun gave him shelter in his house at Chaillot.*

Stair soon discovered the departure of the Pretender from Lorraine, and formally communicated the fact to the regent, who immediately ordered M. de Contade to arrest him without delay. But the regent had previously promised that he would allow the Chevalier to pass through France, provided he did so in secrecy; and Contade knew well that the orders he had received were not intended to be obeyed.

Lord Stair did not place much reliance on the orders given to M. de Contade: his spies had given him full particulars of the route the chevalier had taken to reach some port in Brittany for the purpose of embarking, and he formed a plot to have him assassinated on the road.† He chose for his agent Douglas, the colonel of the Irish guards, a man of great courage and few scruples, who had risen from poverty to some influence in the state, and was a personal friend of the regent himself. Douglas, accompanied by three or four desperadoes—said to have been brought from England for the purpose—posted to Nonencourt, a little hamlet, through which the prince had to pass, and made anxious inquiry at the post-house whether a chaise, which he particularly described, had been seen to pass. Having been answered in the negative, he left two of his men to keep watch at the

Pretender's secretary, is still in existence, and is in the possession of Mr. Gibson Craig, of Edinburgh. (See Mrs. Thompson's Memoirs of the Jacobites, vol. i.) Rashness and want of veracity were hereditary vices in the Stuarts, and the old Pretender, according to Bolingbroke, was more conspicuous for both than any other prince of his race.

* An interesting account of the handsome, the generous, and the eccentric Lauzun, will be found in Miss Pardoe's Memoirs of the Court of Louis XIV. It was by his means that the queen and infant son of James II. were enabled to escape to France at the breaking out of the Revolution of 1688. The prince he had saved in infancy he now sheltered in manhood.

† Saint Simon insinuates that the regent had tacitly authorized this crime; but the chevalier himself was of a different opinion. At Dunkirk, just before embarking, he wrote to the regent:—"Words fail me to express how deeply I am penetrated by all the marks of kindness you have shown me on this occasion. The moment of my departure is at hand, and so too I hope is the time when I shall be in a position to exhibit by my actions the strength of my gratitude."

post-house, while he and the others went to make inquiries in the neighborhood.

Madame de Lospital, who kept the post-house in the absence of her husband, was naturally surprised by the appearance of English strangers on such an unfrequented road; and, after some fruitless conjecture, she at length divined that they must have come thither to seize the Pretender, whose intended enterprise in Scotland was the theme of general conversation.* She contrived to make one of the men at the post-house drunk, and to lock the other into a back room, while she sent a faithful servant three leagues forward to stop the expected chaise, warn its occupant of his danger, and convey him to a cottage belonging to her at a short distance from the road. At the same time she sent information to the police authorities: the imprisoned and the drunken servant were arrested, and the account they gave of themselves was so unsatisfactory, that it was resolved to detain them in custody until orders arrived from Paris. Search was made for Douglas; but he had, by some means or other, learned the failure of the plot, and had disappeared.† The chevalier, having been protected three days by his generous hostess, obtained a new disguise and a fresh post-chaise, by which his pursuers were completely baffled, and he arrived safely in Dunkirk‡.

The failure of the insurrection of 1715, and the stern severity with which the Jacobite lords were sent to the scaffold, are circumstances too well known to be dwelt upon. Lord Stair was still dissatisfied: he addressed a sharp remonstrance to the regent against the shelter granted to the Pretender and the other fugitives from Scotland. The regent made a dignified reply, declaring that it would be disgraceful to refuse shelter and hospitality to illustrious exiles; but declaring that he would suppress and punish any machinations tending to compromise the safety of his English ally.

* Capefigue suggests that she might have received a secret hint from the regent, but this is in the highest degree improbable.

† On his return to Paris he found himself universally shunned. The regent refused to admit him to his former intimacy, and he was obliged to leave the capital. He died in great poverty and distress.

‡ The exiled Stuarts were warm in their expressions of gratitude to Madame de Lospital, but they did not repay her the expenses she had incurred, the loss of which she could ill afford.

Lord Stair had the coolness to make a formal complaint about the arrest of his emissaries, when the regent instituted a commission to inquire into the circumstances; but the investigation was a mere farce, and we believe the commissioners never made any report on the matter.

There was an uncertainty in the whole course of the regent's policy during the Scottish rebellion of 1715, which showed that, though his interests linked him to the cause of George I., his inclinations were in favor of the exiled family. His mother, though related to the Hanoverian monarch, was not favorable to him as King of England. We subjoin two extracts from her Memoirs, which may help to explain the vacillating policy of the regent.

"I cannot rejoice at the elevation of our Prince (George I. to the throne of England); for I have no confidence in the English. I remember well the fine speeches my Lord Peterborough made here not very long ago. I could wish that our elector were Emperor of Germany, and that the king who is here (the chevalier) were in England. I fear that the inconstancy of the English will lead them to play a game which will be far from having pleasing results for us. Perhaps there never was a king whom a nation crowned with more applause and more tumultuous joy than James II.; nevertheless, this same nation has since pursued him without pity or remorse, and it has so cruelly persecuted his innocent son, that he can hardly find an asylum after his great misfortunes. If one could trust the English, I should say that George is lucky in being so steadily supported by his Parliament; but the more one reads of the revolutions of England, the more one must remark their inveterate hatred of royalty and their inconstancy."

At a later period she writes: "Have I not reason to fear for George since he has become King of England, and to desire that he had been king in some other country? I know these cursed English but too well, so that I can put no trust in them. May God preserve their majesties, the princes, and all the family; but I confess that I am greatly alarmed about them."

If the regent shared his mother's opinion, he must have believed at the outset that the chevalier had fair chances of success. It was not until the insurrection had been so completely suppressed as to show the utter feebleness of the Jacobite party, that he took any active measures as a partisan of the Hanoverian line.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE YOUNG KING AT THE LOUVRE.—HIS TUTOR ARCHBISHOP FLEURY.—RECREATIONS OF LOUIS XV.—MASSILLON.—HIS SEMI-POLITICAL DISCOURSES.—SCANDALS OF THE REGENCY.—AVOCATIONS OF THE REGENT.—MADAME DE PARABERE.—LAMPOONS AND EPIGRAMS AGAINST THE REGENT.—DESCRIPTION OF THEM.—THE CHEVALIER DE BOUILLON.—REVIVAL OF DUELLING.—NOTICE OF CERTAIN DUELS.—MEASURES ADOPTED BY PARLIAMENT IN CONSEQUENCE.—THE COUNT DE NOCE.—BROGLIO.—MADAME'S CHARACTER OF HIM.—THE DUC DE BRANCAS.—HIS CHARACTER AND TREATMENT OF HIS WIFE.—ANECDOTE OF HIM.—THE DUC DE BIRON.—THE MARQUIS DE CAVILLAC.—EFFECT OF THE COURT ON THE MANNERS OF SOCIETY.—THE HUGUENOTS.—THEIR PERSECUTION.

One of the most popular notifications of the regent was his announcement that Louis XV. would make Paris his chief residence. The citizens of Paris were always anxious for their sovereign's presence in his capital. They had long lamented the dislike with which Louis XIV. regarded the city, which he never visited save to perform his devotions at Notre Dame. To the last hour of his life Louis never forgot the dangers he had encountered in his minority from popular revolts; the barricades thrown up in the times of the Fronde, which drove him for shelter to St. Germain, were present to his imagination whenever he passed through the streets of his metropolis. Versailles was, in fact, created for the purpose of escaping from a residence in Paris, and the citizens only learned from report the magnificence of the court and the gorgeous display of its civil and military household. Even at the time when popular indignation was most violent against the Duke of Orleans, voices might be heard, pleading that he resided among the citizens, and that it would be an evil to drive a princely family from the palais royal.

From the time of Francis II. to that of Henry IV. the Louvre had been the favorite dwelling of the kings of France. Louis XIII. had preferred the palais royal, or, as it was then called, the palais cardinal, and Louis XIV., as we have said, had abandoned Paris altogether. He seemed to have desired that his successor

should pursue a similar course by his erecting for him a residence at Vincennes.

If Vincennes was salubrious, it had the disadvantage of being gloomy and monotonous. When the trees had shed their leaves, and the snows of winter covered the ground, the prospect was melancholy; and the apartments were so small and inconvenient, that the young king could not command the usual appurtenances of royalty. The regent, who visited the king three times a week, was not disposed to traverse the dull road from Paris to Vincennes in the depth of winter. He proposed the Louvre to the king as a preferable residence, and thither he was removed in state on the evening of the 30th of December.

The Louvre was a noble palace, and it had been splendidly furnished for the reception of youthful majesty. The journals of the period give most glowing descriptions of its splendid hangings, its gorgeous tapestry, its inlaid floors and its decorated ceilings. It stood between the palais royal, where the regent resided, and the Tuileries, where apartments had been assigned to Villeroy, the Duc de Maine, and others entrusted with the charge of the royal person.

The king's residence at Vincennes had greatly improved his health: the citizens remarked with pride and pleasure that there was more color in his cheeks than when they had seen him before; that he carried his head more erect, and took a more animated interest in passing objects.

The education of Louis XV. under the superintendence of the Duc de Maine, had been confided to Andre-Hercule de Fleury, Bishop of Frejus,* specially named for the task by Louis XIV. himself. He was a prelate of most gentle and insinuating manners; few men have possessed so much of the natural politeness which springs from true goodness of heart; his conversation was animated and persuasive; benevolence was the basis of his morals, and kindness the chief element in his discipline. The young king soon became passionately attached to his preceptor; he could hardly bear to be separated from him for a moment; and he shed

* He was born of humble parents in 1653; at an early age he acquired the friendship of Cardinal Bouzi, by whom he was introduced into the church and raised to the rank of royal almoner. He obtained the bishopric of Frejus at the earnest request of the Archbishop of Paris. We shall see him subsequently, when past the age of seventy, created cardinal, and wielding more power as prime minister of France than any minister had exercised since the days of Richelieu.

tears whenever he missed the company of the virtuous and modest Bishop of Frejus.

With this prelate the Abbé Fleury,* who, though of the same name, was not related to the bishop, was associated in the capacity of sub-preceptor. He had been educated by the Jesuits, and had devoted himself to study with such passionate zeal, that at the age of twenty he was regarded as the best ecclesiastical historian in France. If his instructions partook of the characteristics of his writings, no man could be found better calculated to captivate and interest youthful intelligence.

As a child Louis XV. was remarkable for the gentleness of his manners, and the marked candor of his expressions; though he was proud of his dignity as a king, and exceedingly punctilious in all points of etiquette. He took little pleasure in the ordinary sports and toys of boyhood, his chief pastime being to drill as soldiers the children of the nobility permitted to be his companions, and to go through the mimicry of war and battle. Old Villeroy presided over these sports, seeming to take as much delight in them as the youthful actors themselves; and he never quitted the monarch save when indispensable duty required his presence elsewhere. It seemed as if the forms of respect towards the king had been increased in proportion to the feebleness of the representative of royalty. A larger array of troops guarded the palace than was usual in the preceding reign. Under the form of honors and dignities the most vigilant superintendence was exercised over everything pertaining to the personal service of the king. Thus the Duc de Maine, as superintendent of the household, visited the kitchen and inspected the meats destined for the royal table; the dishes had covers of crystal and silver; two guards with their muskets on their shoulders guarded each service from the kitchen to the dining-room; and these precautions were not deemed superfluous in an age which had produced so many fearful examples of death by poison.

The affection of the courtiers for the boy king almost amounted to religious devotion: any one suspected of a design on his precious life, had it been even the first prince of the blood, would have been torn to pieces by the loyal and generous nobles who surrounded Louis XV.

* Author of "The Ecclesiastical History," a work which still maintains its reputation; "The Manners of the Israelites," and "The Manners of the Christians," both replete with learning and interest, and manifesting much of the fervor that characterizes the writings of Thomas à Kempis.

Never did prince receive a more truly Christian education. All his early life was spent in study, in devotion, and in the mimic exercise of royal functions. It was the age of ecclesiastical eloquence: the French pulpit had preserved a noble freedom of expression, and while the most profound depravity pervaded the upper ranks of life, the sermons of Christian orators promulgated the sacred laws of everlasting morality. It was during the first winter of the king's residence in Paris, that Massillon preached the first of that series of sermons to which he gave the name of *La Petit Carême.* It is easy to see that the object of the preacher in these beautiful discourses was to win the heart of the young king, to develop in him the feelings of universal charity, to inspire him with a horror of vice, and to awaken in him a profound distaste for despotism and unrestricted authority. Massillon was a politician as well as a preacher, a moral philosopher not less than a Christian divine. Each of his sermons is a solemn protest against the disorders which pervaded the government and the court of the regent; his invectives almost amount to the oratory of opposition.

Thus, the Louvre was for a season the abode of peace and piety, but in its immediate vicinity was a temple of vice—for such was the palais royal during the whole time of the regency. The beginning of the 18th century was the commencement of an age of social depravity. Louis XIV. had made public proclamation of his adulteries, and by despotic edicts had set aside the sacred laws of marriage; but he maintained a rigid etiquette, which gave even to his debaucheries a semblance of order and public decency. Licentiousness was disguised under the appearance of gallantry, and if there was little real respect for virtue there was no open parade of vice. But under the regency all restraint was cast aside; the most filthy songs were sung, the most obscene pictures circulated, and the most detestable orgies publicly celebrated. Manuscript collections of these abominations still exist in the libraries of Paris.

We have already noticed the scandals which disgraced the early life of Philip of Orleans; we need not repeat the recital; suffice it to say, they were all reproduced and in more aggravated forms under the regency. The political life of the regent commenced about one in the day; for the morning was spent in clearing away the effects of the dissipation of the preceding night. It was not until after he had taken his chocolate at noon that he began to feel himself master of that freedom of intellect and steadiness of

thought which, in spite of his extravagance, was signally manifest in the whole of his administration. His first visit was to the king, whom he always treated with the most deferential homage, addressing him in a tone of affectionate submission, which won the boy's heart and led him to look forward to these visits as the most pleasant moments of his existence. Louis XV. loved his uncle with extreme tenderness, and the regent, who had taken an inveterate dislike to his own son, seemed to regard the king as his child by adoption. After remaining about an hour with the king, the regent proceeded to the council, where affairs of state were discussed, and here his quickness and firmness won the respect of the ministers. He then either visited his mother at Saint Cloud, or his daughters at the Luxembourg, receiving from the former the most judicious advice, and conceding to the latter the most pernicious indulgence. At ten o'clock those origes commenced which have rendered the suppers of the regent proverbial for everything that is most impious and licentious. They were presided over by his daughter, the Duchess de Berri, and by his principal mistress, Madame de Parabère,* to whom he had given the name of his little black crow. Masked balls at the opera became fashionable, and afforded abundant opportunities for intrigues. The opera-house was built in the gardens of the palais royal, and the regent had a private entrance from his apartments to his magnificent box: it was a common amusement to invite a promiscuous

* "If my son has a ruling sultana, it is Madame de Parabère. Her mother, Madame de la Vieuville, was mistress of the robes to the Duchess de Berri. It was there that my son made the acquaintance of the daughter, who is now a widow. She is a woman of fine and commanding form: her complexion is brown, and she never uses rouge; her eyes and her mouth are pleasing; she has not much wit. My son says he is attached to her because she thinks of nothing but amusement, and never meddles with affairs of state. That would be very well, if she were not such a drunkard, and if she did not make my son eat and drink so much. She takes him at night to Anièrs, where she has a farm: he sups there sometimes with her and all the peasants. They say that he has become jealous of the Parabère; in that case he must love her rather more than he used to do. She eats and drinks enormously, and writes farces: this diverts him, and makes him forget his trouble."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

One of the farces mentioned by Madame as the production of Madame de Parabère was, "The Judgment of Paris." Madame de Parabère acted the part of Juno; Madame d'Auverne that of Minerva; and the Duchess de Berri, that of Venus. A sketch of the scene was made by the regent, who had some talent as an artist, and it was made the subject of several caricatures.

crowd of masks to his suppers, and on such occasions the bacchanalian orgies were more wild and extravagant than ever.

Satires, lampoons, and epigrams flew about in every direction; some of them very witty, but some had no recommendation whatever, but the avowed licentiousness of their sentiments.* One of the most amusing, and at the same time the least objectionable, is a kind of parody on the old romances of chivalry, which formed the delight of the knights and barons of the middle ages. It recites the life and adventures of Philip of Orleans, with that stately gravity exhibited by the pretended Archbishop Turpin, in his history of Charlemagne. Some have attributed it to young Arouet (Voltaire), but for this there is no evidence, though it probably emanated from some of the wits whom the Duchess de Maine had collected in her literary circle at Sceaux. It is, however, far less severe than any of the satires which can be traced with certainty to that quarter. This whimsical production professes to be "The True Chronicle of that valiant Chevalier Philippus of Aurelia,† in which may be seen his feats of arms, his less warlike adventures, and many other joyous anecdotes of barons and noble dames; how Deodatus,‡ King of Gaul, fell grievously ill; how the physicians and mountebanks held a solemn consultation on the malady of Deodatus, and told him that if he did not die he might probably recover; how Deodatus, finding that he could not recover, took leave of Scaronia,§ the sovereign lady of his thoughts; how Deodatus caused his great grandson, Louison,‖ to be brought to him; how he recommended to him justice, chastity, and an attentive regard to the good of his subjects; how Deodatus died, and was most joyously buried, and of the merriment at his funeral; how his great grandson, Louison, son of Louis the Burgundian, succeeded; how Sir Philippus of Aurelia was declared tutor to Louison, and how the Count des

* One of the best describes, or rather insinuates, the characters of the principal ladies of the court, by assigning them lodgings in streets with suggestive names; but the allusions are so local, that they could not be rendered intelligible in a translation, without a long and uninteresting commentary.

† The regent, Duke of Orleans.

‡ Louis XIV. All the wits assailed his memory: Voltaire, about this time, was sent to the Bastile, for having written a bitter invective against the late king.

§ Madame de Maintenon, widow of Scarron. She is rarely noticed in the satires of the time.

‖ Louis XV. He is always treated with respect, and even affection, by the wits.

Tectosages* and the great Helvetic chief,† after a violent fit of passion, became quite patient when they could do no better; how, in spite of the aid of St. Peter,‡ Archbishop Turpin§ gained the victory over the great enchanter Acignivo;‖ how the Baron de la Coulovière¶ was expelled for his misdeeds by Sir Philippus of Aurelia; how Sir Philippus of Aurelia passed his time very merrily, and never wanted handsome ladies at his nocturnal assemblies; how Sir Philippus, running through the streets of Lutetia** to defend the beauty of the lady of Biturgia,†† brought several wondrous adventures to a successful conclusion without any danger to his person; how the lady of Biturgia chose for her guard fifty handsome and stout cavaliers; how the inhabitants of Lutetia presented a petition to Sir Philippus of Aurelia, in which the misdeeds of a peculating minister, versed in rapine, were set forth,‡‡ and what was the issue;§§ how, at a signal given by Sir Philippus of Aurelia, the gentle knight of Forte-queue, who wore a black coat of mail, and had four horns for his crest,‖‖ unseated the false glutton Bourvalaisis de la Rapine,¶¶ who, by fraud and covin had seized the treasures of the beautiful fleur de lis; how the false glutton Bourvalaisis de la Rapine was thrown into an obscure prison, and is there continually worried by one of the most savage black dogs*** belonging to Sir Philippus of Aurelia; how Sir Philippus, by the advice of the old enchanter Ruliginoso,††† delivered the people of Gallicia from the fury of a monster having a hundred heads and a thousand hands, named Agiot;‡‡‡ how Sir Philippus of Aurelia, recovering his enchanted shield, which bore

* The Duc de Maine. His tame submission to the regent furnished the theme of many a bitter jest.

† The Count de Toulouse. He is generally spared by the satirists.

‡ Alluding to the pope and the bull *Unigenitus*.

§ Cardinal de Noailles and the Jansenist party.

‖ Le Tellier and the Jesuits.

¶ Desmarets, the late Superintendent of Finance, who was unjustly punished for the defalcations produced by the extravagance of Louis XIV.

** The old Latin name of Paris.

†† The Duchess de Berri. We have already seen that she had incurred the most odious imputations.

‡‡ The allusion is to the address for a special inquiry into the misdeeds of contractors and financiers.

§§ The Special Commisson of Financial Inquiry.

‖‖ A hit at the civilians engaged on the Commission.

¶¶ The contractor and money-lender, Bourvalais. He was imprisoned, and all his property was confiscated.

*** Lawyers.

††† Probably Dubois

‡‡‡ Exorbitant interest charged by the usurers.

for its device the magic word *Declaration*, rendered motionless all the knavish traitors, Saracens, and false gluttons, which fought under the ensigns of the griffin ;* how the fairy Vrillerite† could not be conquered in single combat by Sir Philippus of Aurelia, because that the weapons he employed were not sufficiently tempered ; how Sir Philippus of Aurelia went in search of his mistress, and after he had found her could not say a single word to her; how the lady of Biturgia,‡ after having nailed up the gates of her palace, was obliged to throw them open to all the world."

The Chevalier de Bouillon,§ who chose to call himself Prince Auvergne, was the originator of the balls at the opera, and persuaded the regent to have these entertainments three times a week. A pension of six thousand livres was granted to him as a reward for his ingenuity. A piece of machinery was contrived, admirable in its construction and easy in its application, by which the pit and orchestra being covered with a false floor, on a level with the stage, formed with it one vast saloon, the boxes being reserved for spectators. It was supposed that the publicity of the opera would prevent many of the scandalous adventures which were said to occur at private balls; but the opera brought no improvement in manners; Nouillé, though a councillor of state, came to the first

* Money-lenders.

† The Duchess de Maine; but the allusion is very obscure.

‡ The Duchess de Berri. She closed the gates of the Luxembourg against the public, but was soon compelled to throw them open again.

§ The Bouillon family had been in open opposition to the late king for a long series of years. Cardinal de Bouillon, as nephew of the great Turenne, was at first treated by Louis XIV. as an intimate friend, and through the royal favor received the cardinal's hat before completing his twenty-seventh year. He obtained the most lucrative and honorable offices the king could bestow ; but he was detected in dangerous intrigues against his royal benefactor, and sent into exile. About the same time he was convicted of having procured the forgery of certain documents intended to prove the descent of his family from the Dukes of Aquitaine. Finding that his apologies and supplications failed to procure him a pardon from Louis XIV., he openly went over to the enemies of his country, and was received with almost royal honors by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. This reception so raised his pride that he wrote an insolent letter to Louis, in which he affected to treat him as an equal. Finally he went to Rome, where he opposed the French party with all his influence to the last hour of his life. The Duc de Bouillon did not share his brother's sentiments : but the duchess, one of the nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, joined in every intrigue against Louis XIV. Her son, the chevalier, took the same line of politics, and was on that account a strenuous supporter of the efforts made to set aside the testamentary arrangements of the late king, and give unrestricted power to the Duke of Orleans.

ball in a condition of brutal intoxication, which indeed was in his usual taste and was his custom; the Duc de Noailles similarly degraded himself, believing that by such dissipation he would best conciliate the favor of the regent.

Dueling had been almost unknown in France since the edicts had been issued for its suppression by Cardinal Richelieu, who had declared it a capital offence. Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. had not mitigated this penalty; on no point did both monarchs more heartily combine with the Parliament than in their determination to suppress a practice which was equally barbarous and sanguinary. It was, however, generally known that the regent lamented the proscription of duels, which he regarded as a remedy for personal offences, for which the law provided no redress. These known opinions encouraged two officers to fight a duel in as public a place as the gardens of the Tuileries. One of these was Ferrant, a captain in the king's own regiment, and also a magistrate, having a seat in the Parliament; the other was Giradin, a captain of the guards, whose father was a member of the council of Maine. They fought with swords, and the latter was wounded. This was deemed by the Parliament a fit opportunity to show an example of severity against the practice of dueling, and the regent at first seemed disposed to take the same view. He contented himself, however, with depriving the combatants of their employments, on which Saint Simon coolly remarks, "the employments lost nothing," and refused to authorize any formal prosecution.

Soon after, the Duc de Richelieu and the Count de Bavière having quarreled at Chantilly, a duel was arranged to be fought in the Bois de Boulogne, on a day when a large hunting-party of ladies and gentlemen had been invited to assemble there by the Duc de Bourbon. This was rather too much for the regent. He sent for the antagonists, pointed out to them the danger of such a proceeding as they meditated, and made them pledge their words of honor that the affair should go no farther. Shortly afterwards, at one of the numerous balls given in Paris, the Duc de Richelieu quarreled with the Count de Gracé, eldest son of the Marshal de Matignon. They went out and fought in the streets, and both were slightly wounded. The Parliament resolved to take cognizance of the affair, without waiting for any legal authorization from the regent, under the pretext that the Duc de Richelieu, not having yet been received in Parliament, could not claim the privileges of a peer.* To put an end to the disputes which such a

* His father, who had been a conspicuous person in the Court of Louis XIV. had died only a few weeks before, at the age of eighty-six.

proceeding was sure to raise between the Parliament and the peerage, the regent sent both the combatants to the Bastile. Here they were visited by all the leading men of the day, a circumstance which gave rise to a new dispute on a point of etiquette. Dukes were allowed to wear their swords when they visited the Bastile, but nobles of lower rank were compelled to leave their swords at the gate. The duelists remained in prison about two months before they were brought to trial.* The court then adjourned the case for three months, under the pretence of requiring more ample information; the two nobles were set at liberty, and the prosecution was allowed to fall quietly to the ground.

Nearly at the same time, two young men, Jouzac and Vilette, had a sharp dispute when heated with wine, at a supper given by the Prince de Conti. Neither of them remembered anything about the matter the next morning, but some busy-bodies among the guests interfered, and induced each to demand an apology from the other. The Prince de Conti, when an appeal was made to him, spoke as if the insults that had been interchanged could only be effaced by blood; but the Duc de Bourbon, having heard of the quarrel, sent for the two young men and succeeded in effecting a temporary reconciliation. When this became known, some mischievous lovers of scandal circulated calumnious imputations against the courage of the young men; their families took up the matter, and declared that both would be dishonored if they did not fight. Though the gentlemen were reluctant duelists, they fought with great courage, and both were severely wounded. This affair excited such indignation in the Parliament that the offenders found it necessary to keep out of the way. Vilette quitted the kingdom, and died shortly after from the effect of his wounds. Jouzac, after a long concealment, surrendered and took his trial, when he was sentenced to imprisonment, but was not deprived of his rank or office.

Among the favorite companions and *roués* of the regent was the Count de Nocé, who had served in the wars with some reputation, was distinguished for wit and intelligence, and could, when he pleased, assume the most graceful manners. His acquaintance with the Duke of Orleans began early, for he was the son of that prince's sub-governor, and though ten years his senior, he won

* At this trial the disputes about the rank of the legitimated princes occupied much more attention than the guilt or innocence of the accused. The regent hushed the matter up by persuading the Duc de Maine, and his son, the Prince de Dombes, that they were too nearly related to the Duc de Richelieu to act as his judge.

his regard by his opposition to all restraint, by the epicurean character of his philosophy, and by a roughness of manner which, when it did not amount to brutality, as it often did, assumed an air of frankness and freedom. He was never married, because he preferred the liberty of a bachelor's life: his disregard for public opinion was excessive—he was very indolent; he cared about nothing, and never refused himself any indulgence which his caprice suggested. Until the commencement of the regency he had no settled residence, but took lodgings in various parts of France, as the whim of the moment dictated. When the Duke of Orleans was firmly established in power, Nocé fixed himself in Paris, and became a leader in the orgies of the regent's suppers. He never sought or would accept a political office, but Dubois and others frequently employed his agency to overcome the reluctance the regent manifested for any of their favorite projects.*

Broglio, the son-in-law of the Chancellor Voysin, was the elder brother of the Marshal Broglio, and during the whole of his life was the scourge and the shame of that eminent statesman. It is not known how he became introduced to the intimacy of the regent, and enrolled in the chosen band of *roués*. So far as vice was a qualification, his claim was indisputable. He was a man of extensive reading, and some wit,† thoroughly debauched, very

* "I cannot endure my son's walking about every night with that wicked and impertinent fellow Nocé. I hate Nocé as I hate the devil. He and Broglio risk everything in order to sponge upon my son. They tell me that Nocé says whatever comes into his head about all the world: this makes my son laugh and diverts him; for Nocé has wit, and knows how to give a pleasant turn to his anecdotes. His father was sub-governor to my son, who has thus been acquainted from infancy with this wicked devil, and has conceived an affection for him. I do not know how any one can like the wretch; it is incredible what sums of money this selfish and designing man has got from my son."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† "Madame de Berri told me that Broglio's pleasantries consist in recounting the greatest horrors in the plainest language. The Broglios are of Italian extraction, but their family has been for a long time established in France. There were three brothers: the eldest died in the army; the second was an abbé, but he threw his robes in the nettles and became a confirmed rake. Finally the third, who still serves in the army, is, by all accounts, one of the most honorable and accomplished cavaliers that can anywhere be found. My son, however, does not like him nearly so much as he does the scoundrel brother, because the young man is too serious, and will not play the buffoon. My son pleads in excuse, that when he comes out of his cabinet wearied by work, he requires something to make him laugh; and that the junior Broglio is too young for that; but that he would give him the preference if he had to deal with any affairs requiring him to repose confidence, or to send out a military expedition; but that the elder

avaricious, destitute of any regard for decency, fully and publicly dishonored for poltroonery and almost every other unmanliness. His effrontery, boldness, and unscrupulous audacity, made him formidable, and none dreaded him more than his father-in-law, even when his office of chancellor rendered him formidable to the highest nobility of France. Unlike Nocé, he sought public employment, and by a pretended knowledge of tactics, induced the regent to give him a place at the council of war, and to entrust him with the charge of military departments. As we shall not have any occasion of referring to him again, it may be mentioned, that under the ministry of Cardinal Fleury, Broglio was deprived of all his offices, and refused any compensation. He took a strange mode of showing his resentment.

When his daughter was married, he gave her a large fortune, but stipulated that it was to be forfeited to public charities if she, her husband, or her children, went to see the king or the queen, or took any office connected with the court. Another of the *roués* was the Duc de Brancas. He had lost his parents at an early age, and had been educated by his uncle, the Count de Brancas, whose daughter he married. The match was one that suited neither his taste nor his inclinations; the lady had few personal charms, she was several years older than himself, and had been trained to a staidness of manners which ill suited a young man of a gay and lively disposition. But a lad of seventeen, dependent on his uncle, and having no other relations to whom he could look for aid, was easily compelled to submission, especially as Louis XIV. presented the lady with one hundred thousand livres as a dowry. So long as the count lived, the Duc de Brancas concealed or restrained his dissipated tastes, but on the death of his father-in-law, he became one of the most notorious profligates in Paris. He possessed sparkling wit; his lively sallies circulated through the saloons, and his *bon mots* were the delight of Paris; but he was totally destitute of sense, conduct, or discretion; he immersed himself in the lowest debaucheries and depravities, where he ruined his constitution and his fortune. In spite of the virtue, mildness, and patience which the duchess manifested on every occasion, he treated her with the most barbarous cruelty; she was even left without food or clothing, and any remonstrance

is a more boon, merry and gossiping companion."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

Marshal Broglio served several campaigns with distinguished reputation. In 1724 he was appointed ambassador to London, where he concluded the tripartite treaty between England, France, and Prussia.

was answered by a blow. Luckily, she had a few friends who offered her assistance; indeed, but for the kindness of the Maréchale de Chamilly she must have perished of absolute want. This lady induced the duke to consent to a separation; and he took good care to establish legal grounds for the process, by striking his wife and kicking her out of doors in the presence of Madame de Chantilly and all the servants of both households. The duchess found shelter with her friend, through whose interest she subsequently became lady of honor to the Dowager-Duchess of Orleans.* This situation enabled her to provide for the support of her children, who were quite neglected by their father.

But though the Duc de Brancas took no care of his children, he continued to turn them to profit; in consideration of a large bribe, he compelled his son to marry the daughter of a wealthy manufacturer, and, what is rather strange, this disgraceful bargain was negotiated by the haughty Duchess de Maine.† He became a great favorite with the regent, but had no political influence. Once, being pressed by a candidate for office, to exert his interest, which the suitor declared to be omnipotent, the Duc de Brancas impatiently replied, "Well, sir, it is true that I possess favor at court; you know it, and I will not deny it. The Duke of Orleans loads me with kindness, and is ready to do anything I ask him; but the misfortune is, that he has so little credit with the regent; so little—so little—that you would be quite astonished at it; I am very sorry for it, since it incapacitates me from serving you in the way you desire."

After some years of profligacy, the Duc de Brancas began to feel the reproaches of conscience. He secretly sought the advice

* She succeeded the Duchess de Ventadour, from whom Madame parted with great reluctance. "The Duchess de Ventadour was for sixteen years my lady of honor; she left me two years after the death of my husband. It was a trick of that old hag Maintenon, who wanted to vex me, because I loved this lady, who was good and amiable, but had no cunning. Old Maintenon detached her from me by promises and threats conveyed through the late Princess de Soubise, whose son was married to a daughter of the Duchess de Ventadour, and who was a most crafty woman."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† Through the interest of the Duc de Maine with Louis XIV. the bridegroom was created Duc de Villars. He turned out as great a profligate as his father, and his duchess was as depraved as himself. So long as Louis XIV. lived, this precious pair were the most servile flatterers of the Duc and Duchess de Maine, but on the death of the king they quitted their protectors without even deigning to invent any plausible pretext as an excuse for their ingratitude.

of a pious clergyman, who told him that he had need of deep repentance and an entire separation from the world. He resolved to follow these directions, and requested the worthy father to select for him a proper retreat. During the time the inquiry was in progress, though the duke had abandoned his vices, he still preserved his gay exterior, and supped every evening with the regent and his *roués*. One evening he was more than usually gay and witty; but the next morning he suddenly disappeared. Some days elapsed before it was discovered that he had retired to the Benedictine monastery of Bec, in Normandy. The regent, equally surprised and grieved at his retreat, wrote him a tender and pressing letter inviting his return. The Duc de Brancas sent a reply so witty, and yet so serious, as to destroy every hope of his return.*

General Biron, created duke and peer when Louis XV. attained his majority, was one of the most respectable of the *roués*. He had served with some reputation in the War of the Succession, and had lost an arm at the siege of Kaiserlantern. Under the regency, he held a distinguished place in the council of war.

The most influential of the *roués* was the Marquis de Canillac. His fine person and agreeable manners rendered him a general favorite in society: his learning was extensive and his memory extraordinary; his oratorical talents, which he had carefully cultivated, were of the highest order: there was a vein of polished satire and poignant sarcasm in his speeches and conversation which frequently gave his sentences the point of finished epigrams.

He was at once a miser and an indolent voluptuary. He thoroughly detested Louis XIV., Madame de Maintenon,† and all the ministers of the late king. This community of hatred secured him the friendship of the Duke of Orleans. He witnessed the debaucheries of the prince, but did not imitate them, for his health was too delicate to allow of his indulgence in dissipation.

Vanity was Canillac's weak side; he loved to be flattered, and Lord Stair, who was anxious to secure his interest with the regent, gratified him in that particular to the utmost. Added to this,

* After remaining several years in the monastery, he came back to Paris and fell into all his former bad habits.

† He suspected that Madame de Maintenon had prevented his promotion; but in truth he had been a most negligent officer, when he held the command of a regiment; he had also wounded the vanity of Madame de Maintenon, by treating her with marked disrespect when she accompanied Louis XIV. to the camp at Compiègne. He regarded the ministers as mere tools of Maintenon.

his detestation of Louis XIV. extended to the course of policy that monarch had adopted, and this was one of the causes that rendered Canillac a warm supporter of the English alliance.

Such were the chief *roués* in the libertine circle which the regent collected round him. Impiety and debauchery were its distinguishing characteristics; and so far were these men from seeking to conceal their vices, that they actually courted publicity. Women of the highest rank finally joined in these orgies, and imitated them in their own dwellings. Licentiousness pervaded all the upper ranks of life; literature and the arts were subjected to its influence; the songs of the period were thoroughly disgusting, and the romances perfect abominations. No dignity was spared in the satires, and no character in the epigrams; all the writings of the period are marked by a spirit of epicurean mockery, which spared nothing sacred or profane. The regent, his gallantries, and his administrations formed the subject of countless lampoons, which were often recited to his face at his supper-parties, amidst the laughter and applause of the company, while he laughed the longest and applauded the loudest. The moral bonds of society were not merely relaxed but they were broken; virtue was not merely ridiculed, it was absolutely proscribed. There was abundance of bigotry without a particle of religion, and dissenters were persecuted by avowed atheists.

The Huguenots, aware of the little regard the regent paid to religion, abandoned the conformity which had been forced upon them in the late reign, and began to hold assemblies in Guyenne and Languedoc, and more secretly in Paris. At first, the regent was disposed to grant a general toleration, and even to revive the edict of Nantes; but to this wise measure all the members of his council were, for different reasons, violently opposed. It was unfortunate, also, that the Huguenots, when reorganizing what they called their "Churches of the Desert," did not sufficiently guard against the fanaticism of pretended prophets and prophetesses, whose wild ravings gave their movement something of the stern and savage character which had marked the insurrection of the Camisards. After a long period of delay and indecision, the regent at last sent a circular letter to the provincial authorities, commanding that the penal laws against the Calvinists should be enforced, but that they should be administered with clemency.*

* Saint Simon boasts that it was he who prevented the regent from adopting a tolerant course. We quote a portion of his reasoning, as it is illustrative of the habits of thought prevailing at that epoch. "I repre-

The governors of the provinces paid little attention to these recommendations: in Dauphiné, the Count de Médavy renewed the dragonades; in Guyenne, the Duc de Berwick proposed to massacre the congregations of the Desert, but was ordered to send his Huguenot prisoners for trial to the Parliament of Bourdeaux, which tribunal sent them all to the galleys. In Saintonge, the Count de Chamilly burned down the houses of suspected Calvinists; in the diocese of Mendes, a curate named Mendes caused a young girl suspected of Calvinistic opinions to be publicly whipped by the soldiers, and the punishment was inflicted so severely that she died in a few days. This outbreak of bigotry was irrepressible; the regent disapproved of it, but he was too indolent to struggle against it, and waited patiently until it died away for want of victims.

But, in spite of these persecutions, the Churches of the Desert were maintained in the mountains of the Cevennes. Their ministers, indeed, were rather illiterate; their religious books had been seized or destroyed; but frequent reading of the Bible had impressed whole chapters of it on the memory, and all their congregations knew the psalms by rote. There was something of savage grandeur in their worship which had a charm for the simple mountaineers, that enabled them to defy danger and despise persecution. Thus the apathy and indolence of skepticism revived thoughout France the bigotry of the established church and the fanaticism of the dissenters, and the excesses of both furnished fresh theme for impious jests at the profligate orgies of the atheists and epicureans who had gathered round the regent.

sented to him the disorders and civil wars which the Huguenots had caused in France from the days of Henry II. to Louis XIII.; that they furnished the pretext for the league which had nearly deprived Henry IV. of his crown. I showed him that, in less tumultuous times, dissenters had claimed the right of forming themselves into a party, of having cautionary towns, troops, subsidies, an organized republican government, courts of justice erected expressly for their affairs, correspondence with foreign powers, delegated agents at court with the privileges and protection of ambassadors, in a word—A STATE WITHIN A STATE—whose dependence on the sovereign was a mere form, lasting only during pleasure; always murmuring, ready on the slightest pretence to resume their arms, and always taking them up at the crisis most dangerous to the state."—*Mémoires de St. Simon*, vol. xxv.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REGENT AND THE KING OF SPAIN.—FEELING OF ENGLAND TOWARDS FRANCE.—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN LORD STANHOPE AND DUBOIS.—THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD AND THE LEGITIMATED PRINCES.—APPEAL AGAINST THE PRIVILEGES OF THE LATTER BY THE DUKES AND PEERS.—JOHN LAW: HIS INFLUENCE WITH THE REGENT.—DESIGNS OF THE CABINET OF MADRID.—ADMIRAL BYNG'S VICTORY.—PETER THE GREAT: HIS RECEPTION IN PARIS.—THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.—PROJECTED INVASION OF ENGLAND.—CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN.—SCANDALS AGAINST THE REGENT.—THE DUC DE ST. SIMON AND FONTANIEU.—D'AGUESSEAU AND D'ARGENSON.—THE REGENT AT THE COUNCIL.—HIS MEASURES.—THEIR SUCCESS.—THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS AND MADAME.

Though Philip V. had failed in asserting his claims to the regency of France, which he would probably have preferred to the kingdom of Spain, he still retained his pretensions to the French crown in spite of his renunciations; for, in common with all the princes of the period, he was convinced that Louis XV. would not survive to manhood. The regent's fears of the Spanish monarch were sharpened by pamphlets and addresses, printed at Madrid and diligently circulated in France, in which the immediate claims of the King of Spain to the regency, and his prospective rights of inheritance, were supported by the opinions of the most eminent jurists in Alcala and Valladolid. It was necessary to have some ally on which the House of Orleans could confide; and England was the power most able, if not most willing, to render it assistance.

The English government had not been altogether satisfied with the conduct of the regent during the Scottish rebellion of 1715. It was suspected that secret assistance had been given to the Pretender; and Lord Stair wrote home that the Marquis de Torcy openly favored the Jacobites.* George I. remonstrated on the

* "I found my son greatly incensed against Lord Stair, because he believes that he has misrepresented him to his king, and prevented him from forming an alliance with the regent and with Holland. If this alliance had been concluded, my son would have stopped the Pretender on his road;

subject in angry terms; the treachery of the regent and his ministers was sharply discussed in the English Parliament; and there was reason to fear that England might prefer the friendship of Spain to that of France, especially as Alberoni was prepared to concede some important commercial advantages to English merchants. The regent, through the Abbé Dubois, who had been created a councillor of state, opened a fresh negotiation with the English minister, Stanhope; and the project of the triple alliance between England and Holland was discussed in a correspondence apparently devoted to trifles and buffoonery.

Some difficulty still remained to be overcome, when it was announced that George I., accompanied by Lord Stanhope, was about to visit his electoral dominions in Hanover. Dubois immediately devised a plausible pretext for visiting the Hague;—he declared that he wished to purchase some rare books and pictures then offered for sale in Holland, and he set out armed with full powers, as a secret ambassador to meet, apparently by accident, the English king and his minister on their road. Stanhope, on arriving at the Hague with his royal master, met Dubois as though casually—but the interview had been concerted—and found him, the French minister, seemingly immersed in the study of catalogues of books and pictures. Their conversation was at first literary and artistic,—they discussed rare books and rare editions, until at length mention was made of the correspondence of William III., then recently published. The subject of this volume caused the conversation to turn upon politics and parties, which gave Dubois an opportunity of showing Stanhope a letter from the regent, describing an intrigue formed by some parties in England to remove Stanhope's friend, the great Duke of Argyle, from office. It was easy to extend the discourse, and the two negotiators soon understood each other. Stanhope insisted that the Pretender should be compelled to retire beyond the Alps; that the works of the Mardyke canal should be demolished under the superintendence of English commissioners, and that France should guarantee the Protestant succession. On these conditions he offered to aid the regent with a large contingent of men and ships, in the event of his power being assailed by Spain. Holland was

but, as England refused it, the regent was bound to nothing not stipulated in the treaty of Utrecht,—that is, not to aid the Pretender with men, arms, or money; an agreement which he faithfully observed. He sent precise orders on the subject to every place indicated by Lord Stair. My son believes that the project of an alliance with France is distasteful to the people of England."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

to enter into a similar engagement on condition of having the stipulations of the barrier treaty effectually carried out. When all the preliminaries were arranged the whole had nearly suffered shipwreck from a trifling point of etiquette. George I. would not abandon the empty title of King of France, which the English monarchs had borne since the days of the Plantagenets; and the regent was afraid that by the recognition of such a title he would seem to compromise the dignity of his sovereign. Dubois thought it as well to concede the idle form; and, as he had anticipated, the attention of the world was too earnestly fixed on the substance of the treaty to take any heed of the titles of the monarchs.

The princes of the blood, Bourbon, Condé, and Conti, were very jealous of the privileges which had been conceded to the legitimated princes; they were mediocre young men, having no claim to the public attention save that of their illustrious descent; while the Duc de Maine was believed to possess many statesman-like qualities; and the Count de Toulouse had acquired considerable fame by his exploits in the navy. But the defeat of the legitimated princes on the question of the regency had shown their weakness; the testament of Louis XIV. had failed to secure them the political power he had bequeathed; and thus their enemies were encouraged to attack the precedence he had bestowed upon his natural children.

Two formal complaints were made against the legitimated princes, one by the princes of the blood, and the other by the peers of France.

The princes of the blood insisted that legitimacy was a quality which no royal prerogative could bestow; that such an exercise of power was inconsistent with the sacrament of marriage, with the sanctity of woman, and with the laws ordained by God for the government of society. The edict of legitimation had been registered when the right of remonstrance had been unconstitutionally refused to the Parliament, and when the princes of the blood could not with safety enter a formal protest against it. Whatever respect they might feel or express for Louis XIV. and his memory, they could not believe that he had the power of making right wrong, and wrong right. The Parliament was therefore required to restore the eternal laws of legitimacy which had been suspended by an exercise of despotism, and to declare itself a judge of rights which existed by their own constitutional force, independent of the will of the sovereign. To this the legitimated princes replied, with more eloquence than force, that the edict of legitimation having been sanctioned by Parliament with all the forms known to

the constitution, could not now be impugned without great and manifest injustice.*

The second appeal against the legitimated princes was presented in the name of the dukes and peers who sat in Parliament by virtue of their rank, and was prepared by the Duc de St. Simon, who attached as much importance to precedence as to the existence of the monarchy. It demanded that the legitimated princes should be received by the right of their peerages and not as princes of the blood; and, consequently, that their rank and precedence should be determined by the dates of their creation as peers. But in this demand was involved another question of the highest importance. The ducal peers claimed for themselves all the rank, power, and dignity belonging to the collective body of the French nobility; though most of them were peers of modern creation, and could not compete in ancestry with those nobles of Guienne, Gascony, and Brittany, whose pedigrees ascended beyond the age of history. The provincial nobility protested so vehemently against the pretensions of the ducal peers, that it was feared they would form a league for the defence of their menaced privileges, associa-

* The answer of the legitimated princes was written by the Duchess of Maine, and is an interesting specimen of that lady's abilities. It is as follows: "The Duc de Maine has heard from various quarters that the Duc de Bourbon intends to present an appeal against the solemn edict which fixes his rank, and insures him, in case of the failure of the legitimate line, the succession to the crown, and gives him in consequence all the other prerogatives of a legitimate prince. The Duc de Maine insists that such an appeal cannot be received by any tribunal for several reasons, some of which are here assigned. To present this appeal to Parliament, is to require that it should derogate from the authority of an edict which it has itself solemnly registered, without any contradiction or remonstrance, which has consequently been registered by the other Parliaments of the kingdom, and which this illustrious body has itself maintained on different occasions, and especially at 'the bed of justice,' the most solemn which has been held since the time of the States-General. It is to ask from Parliament the repeal of the law which says *bis non judicatur idem*, to require that it should judge where it *has* judged. What do I say?—it is to ask that it should judge *against* what it has judged, and retract its solemn decision in the face of the universe—to demand that, for the gratification of the Duc de Bourbon, so august an assembly should make the whole kingdom suspect that it had not known the consequences of its own deed when it promulgated a law emanating from the royal authority, and still less when it has sanctioned it on so many occasions since the death of the legislator. Such an appeal is odious in the person of the Duke of Bourbon; it is highly injurious to the royal authority, the sole arbiter of ranks and dignities; it is disrespectful to the authority of the Parliament; and, what is more, it is dangerous to the state."—*Registered on the rolls of Parliament, August*, 1716.

tions beginning to be formed in Languedoc and Brittany. In Paris, as we have already seen, there had been many jealousies and disputes between the ducal peers and the presidents of the courts; and these were now again remembered. When the Parliament had taken cognizance of the two appeals, it only partially decided the first, and left the second unsettled. The edict rendering the legitimated princes capable of succeeding to the throne, was set aside; but the question of precedence was left undetermined.

A new question of precedence arose between the Parliament and the regent; since the time of Louis XIII. it had been a custom that the King of France should proceed in solemn procession to the cathedral of Notre Dame, on the 15th of August, accompanied by his court and his Parliament. Louis XV. was too feeble to endure the heat and fatigue; and the question arose whether the regent could legally take the king's place in the procession. The Parliament decided that he should walk in the same line as its two presidents; but the regent reversed the decision by an ordinance, and, like a king, walked alone before the presidents. Out of this dispute about precedence originated the misunderstandings between the prince and the Parliament, which subsequently brought the country to the verge of a civil war.

John Law, a Scotch adventurer, who had been compelled to quit his own country on a charge of murder, offered the regent his aid in re-establishing the finances.* A royal edict was issued empowering Law and his brother to establish a bank, the notes of

* John Law was born in 1671, at Edinburgh, where his father was a wealthy banker. He was received into his father's counting-house at the age of fourteen, where he applied himself diligently to the study of the principles of banking. On his father's death, in 1688, he retired from business, and gave himself up to gambling and dissipation. He was at length driven to the necessity of mortgaging his estate, and about the same time had the misfortune to kill a gentleman named Wilson, in a duel. Being brought to trial, he was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. It was proposed to commute the sentence into a fine, but against this the brother of the deceased lodged an appeal; and while the matter remained undecided Law escaped to the continent. He soon became known at every gambling-house in the principal capitals of Europe, and was expelled first from Venice, and afterwards from Genoa by the magistrates, who thought him a visitor dangerous to the youth of those cities. He offered his services as a financier to Louis XIV., who refused to have anything to do with him as being a Protestant. But he made a favorable impression on the Duke of Orleans, whom he met at the gaming-table; and though obliged to quit Paris by the police, he returned on the death of Louis XIV., and was taken into the confidence of the regent.

which should be received in payment of the taxes. As the community had been much alarmed by the recent depreciation of the currency, and had reason to fear that the government would again have recourse to this pernicious expedient, Law made his notes payable at sight, and in the coin current at the time they were issued. His notes immediately bore a higher value than the precious metals; in the course of a year they rose to a premium of fifteen per cent., while the notes issued by the government as a security for the debts of Louis XIV. were at a discount of no less than seventy-eight per cent. Law's success relieved the distresses of the government, for he discounted the notes of the state at their market price, which fell lower as his notes began to be appreciated.

The cabinet of Madrid, directed by Alberoni, was engaged in vigorous preparations to expel the Austrians from Italy, and reestablish the supremacy of Spain in that peninsula. An invasion of Hungary and of the Venetian States, by the Turks, gave the Spaniards a pretence for assembling a large armament; but instead of sailing against the Ottomans, the Spanish fleet steered for Sardinia, which submitted to their arms, and then directed their course to Sicily, where they landed their army. George I., filled with electoral reverence for the head of the empire, had enjoined Byng, who commanded the English squadron in the Mediterranean, to prevent the enterprise of the Spaniards. Byng attacked the Spaniards and gained one of the most brilliant victories recorded in the naval annals of Great Britain. The Spanish fleet was almost annihilated, but the Spanish army, nevertheless, effected the conquest of Sicily.

While the Western powers were either preparing for war, or engaged in actual hostilities, Peter, Emperor of Russia, announced his intention of visiting Paris. The regent would gladly have dispensed with this visit, which was certain to entail expenses beyond what the exhausted state of the finances could bear, and was also likely to provoke the jealousy of England, for a personal hate of long standing existed between George I. and the Czar Peter. On the other hand, it was of importance to prevent Russia from being seduced into an alliance with Spain against Austria, an object eagerly sought by Alberoni.

Peter was received in France with greater splendor than he desired; he complained of the excessive luxury and magnificence of his apartments, and ordered a camp-bed to be prepared for him in an antechamber. Though his manners were gross and rude, the Czar showed a marked determination to insist on the most

rigid ceremonials of royal etiquette; he would not quit his hotel until he had been visited by the regent; he also insisted on receiving the first visit from Louis XV.; but he treated the royal child with almost paternal affection,* and carried him in his arms to the carriage. Objects of utility engrossed the whole of the Czar's time and attention; he visited all the public institutions and the principal manufactures of Paris and its vicinity, never quitting any object of rational curiosity until he had made himself thorough master of all its details. One night he shared in the orgies of the Luxembourg with the regent and the Duchess of Berri; but the debauchery he witnessed was too extravagant even for a Russian, and he never could be induced to repeat his visit. Peter, however, conceived a warm attachment for the French nation and its manners; Louis XV. to the last moment of his life, remembered the kindness he had received from the Czar; and in the end the subsidy long paid to Sweden was transferred to Russia; the Czar's right to the territory he had gained from Charles XII. was recognized by the courts of Vienna and Paris; and in return he promised to observe a strict neutrality in the quadruple alliance which was then in preparation.

The warlike attitude of Spain rendered an extension of the triple alliance important to the regent. Dubois was sent as ambassador-extraordinary to England for that purpose, with instructions to prevent, if possible, a general war, by procuring the adhesion of Austria to the triple alliance, and arranging the rival claims of that power and of Spain in Italy, on the basis of the treaty of Utrecht. Dubois was charged with large presents to all who were supposed to possess any influence over the king, but especially to the Duchess of Kendal, an ugly mistress whom George I. had brought over from Germany, and who received enormous sums in bribes, as she had complete ascendancy over the king.† Equal difficulties impeded the negotiations in London

* When he visited St. Cyr, he insisted on seeing Madame de Maintenon. She was ill in bed, but the Czar went up to her room, drew the curtains, and gazed on her for several minutes without uttering a word. He then stalked out of the room in silence, and even refused the civility of a parting salute. His brutal manners towards all the ladies he met, no matter what might be their rank or station, seem to have given much offence. It was said that he was civil only to the lowest women.

† She was not the only person who took bribes. Pitt, the father-in-law of Stanhope, made a furious speech against the French alliance in the House of Commons. Dubois was much alarmed by the effect it produced; he knew that Pitt possessed the celebrated diamond, weighing six hundred grains, which still bears his name, and he hinted to the patriot that the re-

and Paris; Anti-Gallican prejudices were strong in the English mind; substantial advantages were expected from accepting the proffers of Alberoni; and the very name of the treaty of Utrecht had long been odious. When Dubois, with consummate skill, had overcome these difficulties, the regent had to encounter a fresh set of perplexities in Paris. Uxelles, Villeroy, Villars, and the Duc de Maine, objected to a close alliance with the courts of Vienna, London, and the Hague; and protested still more strongly against the article which stipulated that force should be employed if the King of Spain refused to accept the conditions propounded by the allies.*

But the regent had not submitted all the articles of the treaty to his council. He kept back the stipulations which placed the Orleans family next in succession to the crown of France,—the secret object of his ambition, if it could be attained with honor and safety. Had this part of the treaty been made known, alarms for the safety of Louis XV. would probably have strengthened the opposition; and even after the ratification of the treaty had only been carried by a majority, Uxelles refused to sign it, and was induced to do so by the menace of immediate degradation. Dubois returned triumphant to Paris, and was immediately appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs, the regent having already become weary of the grand experiment of councils.

Alberoni, against whose plans the quadruple alliance was formed, made the most strenuous exertions to disconcert the schemes of Dubois. He ordered the Spanish ambassador at Paris, the Prince of Cellamare, to draw tighter the bonds by which he was already united to the Duc de Maine, and the party that adhered to the traditional policy of Louis XIV.; by their means he hoped to be enabled to deprive the Duke of Orleans of the regency; and, by the aid of Baron Gortz,† he induced Charles XII. of Sweden to place himself at the head of a coalition for the re-

gent was disposed to purchase the gem. Pitt sold it for two millions of livres, and thenceforth devoted all his powers to winning over the House of Commons to the cause of the regent.

* St. Simon on this occasion joined the opposition. He was an inveterate enemy of England and the protestant succession; it seems probable also that he was not aware of the personal interests the regent had in the confirmation of the treaty.

† "Baron Gortz wanted to gain over my son, but my son distrusted him, and would not allow him to buy a single ship. It was on obtaining this permission that the baron founded his hopes. This gawky Gortz, whom I saw here, has a haughty air and deplorable countenance. I do not think he will die a good death."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

storation of the Stuarts to the throne of England. Charles XII., having been reconciled to his old enemy, Peter the Great, was to land in Scotland at the head of thirty thousand men; a Spanish army, sustained by a powerful fleet, was to accompany the Pretender in an attempt on the south of England; and Peter the Great was to intimidate Germany by appearing on its frontiers at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men. A pistol-ball disconcerted all these arrangements. Charles XII. was assassinated by one of his own officers,* while besieging the fortress of Fredericshall, in Norway; and the Swedes, who had long been weary of his despotism, sent his favorite minister, Gortz, to the scaffold. We have already mentioned another untoward event, the destruction of the Spanish fleet by Admiral Byng in the waters of Syracuse. But Alberoni did not despair; he trusted to the growing disaffection to the regency, which the unpopularity of Dubois tended still more to increase;† and he seems to have expected that the dispute between the provincial nobility and the ducal peers would terminate in a civil war.

We have already noticed the quarrel between the ducal peers and the rest of the Parliament respecting the form in which the president should salute the dukes when asking their votes. St. Simon urged the affair with such vehemence that one of the civil councillors of Parliament replied in an anonymous pamphlet, in which he revealed the origin of the ducal peerages, declared them to be a new order created by the intrigues and favors of the court, recruited from the minions of Henry III. and the panders to the pleasures of Henry IV.; enumerated all the scandals told of their origin, and assigned the most disgraceful motives for each creation. Enraged by this libel, the ducal peers threatened to assert their privileges by force at the next meeting of the Parliament. Alarmed by their menaces, the regent ratified their pretensions by an order in council; but, still more alarmed by the indignation of the Parliament, he revoked the order almost as soon as it had been issued.

The popularity of the regent, which had been based on the hope

* Supposed to be the President de Novio.

† The publication of the Mémoires of Cardinal de Retz at this period had excited an extraordinary ferment in the public mind, and especially in the magistracy and the Parliament. A puerile desire to imitate the scenes of the Fronde was manifested in all the private saloons and public councils; the liberty of speech, so long suppressed by Louis XIV., was carried to the extreme of licentiousness. But the opponents of the regent and Dubois were even weaker and more frivolous than the adversaries of Mazarin: there was not one of them who could not be purchased by a bribe.

that he would adopt the course of policy traced by the lamented Duke of Burgundy, became perceptibly weakened when it was found that his promises had been deceptive. A war with Spain and an alliance with England shocked all the prejudices and traditions of more than half a century;* the religious confraternities, which had become very numerous in Paris, were scandalized whenever they met to honor their patron saint, by hearing of some new impious jest which the regent had launched against religion; the numerous associations of their wives and daughters, formed to promote the worship of the Virgin, were still more horrified by the public extravagances of the Duchess de Berri, and the frightful anecdotes related of her secret orgies. There was a general reaction against the reign of vice which had first been tolerated, and the regent, instead of becoming more guarded in his conduct, seemed to take pride in increasing the ostentation of his profligacy, and in deliberately outraging public opinion.

The reports which attributed so many deaths in the family of the late king to the machinations of the Duke of Orleans began to be revived, and combined with them were whispers of the danger to which the life of the young Louis XV. was exposed. These scandals were so generally credited that no one in the city, and few in the court, believed that the king would be allowed to live beyond the period when the arrangements for securing the succession should be completed.† The Duchess de Ventadour, on

* It was regarded at best as a personal strife between Alberoni and Dubois. The wits said, "It is a quarrel and a race between the son of a gardener and the son of an apothecary."

† St. Simon relates an amusing instance of the effect of these rumors: The regent sent him to order Fontanieu to make secret preparations for holding a bed of justice, and Fontanieu at first thought he was about to receive orders for the assassination of the young king. But we must extract St. Simon's description of the same. "When Fontanieu and I had entered his cabinet, I delayed speaking to him for some minutes until the servants who had opened the doors for us had retired. To his great astonishment, I went out to see that none of them remained listening, and then secured the doors. Having so done, I told him that my business did not relate to M. de Lauzun, but to a very different matter, which required the utmost attention and impenetrable secrecy; that the Duke of Orleans had charged me to communicate it to him, but that, before doing so, it was necessary to know if the regent could rely on his absolute devotedness. How strange is the impression made by the most groundless scandals when they are industriously circulated! Fontanieu, on hearing me, trembled from head to foot, and became paler than a sheet. He stammered out, incoherently, that he was as devoted to the Duke of Orleans as his duty allowed him to be. I smiled, looking steadfastly at him, and this smile apparently warned him

resigning her charge of the monarch to the Marshal de Villeroy, was pale, agitated, and apparently overwhelmed with grief. Villeroy ostentatiously took the most elaborate precautions for the security of his royal charge. The troops of the household watched with the greatest disquietude all the phases in the health of Louis XV., and became alarmed when the slightest alteration was manifest in his countenance. Once, when he was slightly indisposed, it was whispered that he had been poisoned; and several of the guards were heard to say, that "they would act the part of Brutus to the Duke of Orleans if the king, that beautiful angel, should be wrested from their love." Nor were the citizens of Paris less anxious for their monarch; they gave him the epithet of "well-beloved;" and their attachment was slowly effaced by the disasters of his reign. So long as the regent had acted in concert with the Parliament and the Jansenists, his popularity, though much weakened, had not been wholly destroyed. He had all the advocates and notaries on his side, for their great favorite, D'Aguesseau, a stanch Jansenist, had been appointed chancellor. But symptoms were observable of an approaching reconciliation between the regent and the high church party; the Duc de Feuillade had been sent ambassador to Rome; it was believed that the bull Unigenitus would be received with some few modifications;* and in a circular, addressed by the regent to the bishops, promises were implied not very consistent with his professions to the Parliament. At the procession to Notre Dame the regent had walked before the first president; he was believed to favor the pretensions of the ducal peers; and he had not been so much guided by the advice of his councillors as had at first been expected.

These disquietudes were aggravated by several difficult ques-

that he owed me some excuse for not being perfectly assured of every communication made through me, for he at once apologized with the embarrassment of a man who feels that his first view of an affair has obscured the second view, and who, still influenced by the first view, dares show nothing and yet reveals everything. I re-assured him as well as I could, and told him that I had answered for him to the regent, and that his aid was required to make secret preparations for holding a bed of justice at the Tuileries. Scarcely had I explained myself when the poor man drew a deep breath, as of one who escapes from some stifling compression, and has had a heavy weight taken off his stomach. This he repeated four or five times, and as often asked me if I had told him all that was required of him. He promised everything, obviously rejoiced at getting off so easily, and he certainly kept his word."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxxi.

* This change in the regent's ecclesiastical policy was attributed to his anxiety to procure a cardinal's hat for the Abbé Dubois.

tions of finance. The regent had issued some edicts on the currency and on the state-bonds, all of which were connected with Law's bank, and designed to strengthen that establishment. The Parliament of Paris made loud and vehement remonstrances against these edicts, averring that all matters relating to the imposts belonged to their functions. The regent answered by an appeal to the council of state, and suspecting that D'Aguesseau encouraged the opposition of the Parliament, he deprived him of his office, and gave the seals to D'Argenson, the lieutenant of police. The Duc de Noailles on receiving this intelligence demanded an audience; and he boldly told the regent that, seeing the influence which a cabal had acquired, as instanced by the removal from office of a worthy man, and the best of his personal friends, he could no longer retain his place as president of the council of finance. The regent accepted his resignation, and his office also was given to D'Argenson.*

D'Aguesseau was an admirable lawyer and profound scholar, but he had not the qualifications of a statesman. His indecision was proverbial. Accustomed in the courts of law to discuss and examine minute legal difficulties, he perceived doubts and difficulties in the merest trifles, raised scruples where conclusions were clearest, and took such pains to render himself intelligible, that his explanations involved the plainest matters in obscurity. D'Argenson, on the other hand, was quick, vigorous, and decided in his actions, insinuating in his manners, and unbending in his temper. D'Aguesseau believed that a lawyer could do no wrong, the meanest officer of justice was almost as sacred in his eyes as a sovereign. D'Argenson, on the other hand, cared little even for judges, and had more than once stood out against the Parliament. The former would not pardon the slightest violation of the law, the latter was not indisposed to wink at the offences of the rich and powerful. The change showed strongly the growing alienation of the regent from the Parliament; it was significant of a return towards despotism, when the chief of the police was placed at the head of the law.

The plans of finance drawn up by law constituted the first cause of dissension between the regent and the Parliament: the magistrates decided that the edicts issued in favor of the bank

* The appointment, however, was very gratifying to many of the nobility, who were grateful to D'Argenson for concealing from the late king and Pontchartrain some adventures of their children and relations, which though mere errors of youth, would probably have involved them in ruin had they not been kept secret.

were illegal, and refused to register them. The regent resolved to carry matters with a high hand, and made secret preparations for holding a bed of justice in the Tuileries;* at the same time he directed the new keeper of the seals to prepare edicts not only for enforcing his financial arrangement, but also for giving full effect to the appeals made against the legitimated princes by the princes of the blood and the ducal peers of Parliament.

On the morning of the 26th of August, 1718, the whole of the troops in Paris were under arms before daylight. The avenues to the Parliament were occupied by picked detachments, and a body of musketeers was placed at Law's bank, to defend it from any sudden attack. So early as six o'clock, the members of the council of regency began to assemble. The regent exhibited more firmness and resolution than his friends had expected; he entered the council with a smiling countenance, and was not disconcerted by the unexpected arrival of the Duc de Maine in his robes of state. The Count de Toulouse followed him in a similar attire, whereupon the regent expressed his surprise, as he had not been summoned. The members of the council then formed themselves into groups, where the discussions were anxious and animated. Everybody knew the purport of the edicts about to be adopted, and felt for the painful position in which the legitimated princes were likely to be placed. After some time the Count de Toulouse went up to the regent, and inquired in a whisper whether his presence at the council was unwelcome.

The regent, who had a great personal regard for the count, told him that matters were likely to take place which would be most disagreeable to his brother, the Duc de Maine, and which it would not be well for him to witness. When the count communicated this intelligence to the Duc de Maine, they both resolved to withdraw, and when the regent gave the word for the members of the council to take their places, the two brothers slipped away, almost unperceived. The regent then declared to the council his determination to set aside the recent decisions of the Parliament in a bed of justice, to be holden in the palace, that the king might be spared the heat and fatigue. It was supported by the votes of all present; Villeroy alone venturing to suggest a doubt of the Parliament's quitting its ordinary place of session. The edict was next read, which deprived the legitimated princes of all the peculiar privileges conceded to them by their late father, and reduced

* It was on this occasion that St. Simon had the strange interview with Fontanieu, described in a preceding note.

them to the level of ordinary peers of Parliament. Villeroy, Villars, Tallard, and the other members who had been nominated to the regency by Louis XIV., could with difficulty restrain their rage and surprise; but they knew that opposition would be useless, and they devoured their indignation in silence. An act of grace was then read, granting to the Count de Toulouse, his former precedence and privileges during his life, and this, which was still more vexatious to the friends of the Duc de Maine than the former decree, produced only a few murmurs. But a still more severe blow was in reserve; the regent declared that the Duc de Bourbon, as first prince of the blood, had to present a claim which he trusted would be regarded as just and reasonable by the council. The duke then rose, and demanded that he should be appointed to superintend the education of the king in the place of the Duc de Maine.

Had a thunderbolt fallen into the midst of the council, it could hardly have produced greater surprise. Marshal Villeroy was, however, the only person who ventured to make any objection. In a tremulous voice, rendered almost inaudible by suppressed emotion, he exclaimed, "I have but two words to say upon the subject: all the arrangements of the late king have been now reversed; I cannot witness this without sincere sorrow; the Duc de Maine is very unfortunate." "Sir," replied the regent, with great sternness, "the Duc de Maine is my brother-in-law, but I like an open foe better than a secret enemy." The charge of the king's education was then voted to the Duc de Bourbon.

While the council was thus engaged, the Parliament* was in a state of the greatest excitement. Some proposed that they should disobey the mandate by which they were summoned to the palace, and refuse to assemble in a place where they could not be assured of their personal security. Others declared that they ought to go on foot from their chamber in solemn procession, so as to direct the attention of the people to the danger they had to encounter. The latter advice prevailed,† and a few moments after

* "They have let loose all the Parliament against my son. Remonstrances have been made: they were instigated by the eldest bastard and his spouse (the Duke and Duchess de Maine)."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† "To-day, the 21st of August, my son has assembled the council of regency; he had previously summoned the Parliament by a regular warrant to meet him. They came to the Tuileries in their scarlet robes, hoping by this means to stimulate the populace; but the people only cried out, 'Where the deuce are the boiled lobsters going?'"—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

the debate in the council had terminated, it was announced that the members of Parliament were entering the court of the palace.

The absence of the legitimated princes was the first intimation to the Parliament that some other measures were contemplated in addition to the reversal of their decisions. It was most mortifying to the magistrates and their presidents, to see D'Argenson invested with the office of chancellor, and taking precedence of them all, when they remembered that, as lieutenant of police, he had often had to receive their orders standing uncovered at their bar. They averted their eyes from the painful sight, and only gave him the salute required by rigid etiquette.

The boy-king having gone through the form of ordering his chancellor to expound his will to the Parliament, D'Argenson, in a firm, but rather haughty tone, explained all the resolutions that had been adopted by the council. The first president* then replied, making a powerful remonstrance, in the name of the Parliament, against the course proposed to be adopted.† The chancellor then having gone through the form of consulting the king, pronounced the decisive words, "The king wills to be obeyed, and obeyed immediately." The reversal of the parliamentary decisions was then registered.

The act of deprivation against the legitimated princes and the special exception in favor of the Count de Toulouse, were received with murmurs of surprise and dissatisfaction, but were not openly resisted; and the same may be said of the transfer of the king's education to the Duc de Bourbon. Louis XV. seemed to attach no importance to the change; so far from evincing any emotion at the announcement, he amused himself by ridiculing the heavy velvet dresses worn by some of the peers on so warm a day.

Once more the regent had triumphed; but he felt that it would be no pleasant task to announce to his duchess that he had degraded her favorite brother from his rank and station. He chose Saint Simon for the execution of this disagreeable mission, and the duke, without waiting for his dinner, had set off for St. Cloud. As bad news travels fast, he hoped that the results of the bed of

* The President de Mesmes: he belonged to the Duc de Maine's party, but on many important occasions he allowed himself to be gained over by the bribes of the regent.

† "The remonstrance," says St. Simon, "was full of the most refined malice, abounding in impudence to the regent and insolence to the king. The wretch trembled as he pronounced it. His faltering voice, his haggard eyes and shrinking form, gave contradiction to that venom which he liberally poured out for himself and for his audience."

justice would have reached the palace long before his arrival. To his great surprise and consternation, he learned that nothing whatever of the matter was known at St. Cloud. He sought some of the ladies in attendance on the duchess to break the unpleasant intelligence to her before he sought an audience, but he could not find them in their apartments, and the duchess, having heard of his arrival, summoned him to her presence. On entering her saloon, she saluted Saint Simon with her natural gayety, but seeing that he remained awkward and confused at the door, she became alarmed, and exclaimed, "My God, sir, what a countenance you have! what terrible news do you bring?"

Saint Simon, advancing a few steps, said, "Madame, is it possible that you cannot have heard it? I am much more unfortunate than I supposed I was." He then stated what had occurred, dwelling strongly on the favor that had been shown to the Count of Toulouse, and declaring that the regent would not have dealt so harshly with the Duc de Maine had he not the strongest proofs of his dangerous designs. The duchess was overwhelmed with sorrow and consternation.* She pressed Saint Simon to tell her what were the crimes laid to the charge of the Duc de Maine, but the wily diplomatist declared that this secret had not been confided to him by the regent.† He then retired, leaving her to vent the grief which he saw that she could with great difficulty suppress.

On the other hand, Madame, the mother of the regent, received the intelligence with the greatest delight, regarding it as a triumph not only over the legitimated princes, but over her old enemy Maintenon, and she has recorded with malicious pleasure, in her journals, that "the old hag fell sick when she heard the news."‡

* "Madame d'Orleans is in despair; she returned to Paris in a pitiable state, and even I felt compassion for her."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† "The Parliament had fine plans. If my son had delayed for twenty-four hours longer the removal of the Duc de Maine from the guardianship of the king, it had been decided to proclaim the king's majority forthwith, and to transfer the whole charge of the government to the Duc de Maine. My son has quite disconcerted them by his promptitude in removing the Duc de Maine and degrading him."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

‡ "What has happened is a great heart-stroke to Maintenon; still she does not lose hope. This torments me, for I know how skillful she is in poisons. My son, instead of being prudent, goes about the city at night in strange carriages; he sups sometimes with one, sometimes with another of his acquaintances, amongst whom are several worthless characters that have not a single good quality but wit . . . . I do not think that the devil him-

Immediately after the closing of the bed of justice, President de Blamont and two other magistrates were arrested and sent to the places appointed for their exile by the chancellor. The schism between the regent and the Parliament was thus completed, and the magistrates complained, not without reason, that police had taken the place of justice.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WITS AND POLITICIANS AT SCEAUX.—LA GRANGE CHANCEL AND VOLTAIRE.—NICHOLAS DE MALAZIEU.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE REGENT.—ITS RESULT. INSURRECTION OF BRITTANY.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEADERS.—PONTCALEC, MONTLOUIS, TALHOUET, AND COUEDIC.—A BRETON BALLAD.—EXECUTION OF THE INSURGENTS.—INVASION OF FRANCE BY PHILIP V.—THE DUKE OF BERWICK.—EMPLOYMENT OF THE PRINCE DE CONTI.—OPERATIONS OF THE FRENCH ARMY.—ALBERONI.—HIS DISGRACE.—PROPOSALS OF PHILIP V. FOR PEACE.—THE LAST VESTIGES OF THE SYSTEM OF LOUIS XIV.

DURING the entire struggle between the princes of the blood and the legitimated princes, the Duc de Maine had shown a marked deficiency in energy and promptitude; his little duchess, however, had exhibited a superabundance of both qualities. On the first appearance of the appeals against her husband she hastened to Paris, remained in inconvenient lodgings, and engaged some of the most eminent jurists to prepare, under her direction, a memorial to the Parliament, in which the right of Louis XIV. to bestow precedence and privilege was maintained with singular eloquence and learning. The decrees registered in the bed of justice came upon her by surprise; she had expected that the Parliament would remonstrate, that the Duc de Maine would have made an effort to defend his prerogative, and that the Count de Toulouse would not have separated his cause from that of his brother.* Disappointed

self could be worse than the old hag Maintenon, her Duc de Maine, and the Duchess."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

* "Madame the Duchess de Maine contributed much to this work herself, not only by what she drew from her own intelligence, but still more from her laborious researches. The greater part of her nights were devoted to them. Immense volumes were heaped on her bed like mountains, by which she was overwhelmed, making her, she said, 'If proportions were taken into account, resemble Enceladus under Mount Etna.' I assisted at

in all these expectations, her rage knew no bounds; she spurned her husband, scorned his brother, and uttered the most furious invectives against the regent.* Paris was odious to her; she removed with her husband to her beautiful residence at Sceaux,† where she gathered around her a circle of wits and authors, ready to support her cause and gratify her resentment.‡ Among the satires which appeared against the regent, the most ferocious by far were the Philippics of La Grange Chancel, who had been for some time in the service of Madame, the dowager Duchess of Orleans, but had afterwards joined the party of the Duchess de Maine. It is probable that he had received some personal affront or injury from the regent, for his first Philippic is too passionate an invective to have been dictated by mere party spirit. In this bitter specimen of rhyming vengeance, he collected every calumny, every scandal, and every accusation that had ever been vented against the Duke of Orleans, and the result was some thirty stanzas of horrors and abominations. St. Simon took the piece to the regent immediately on its publication, and read it to him. Philip heard the invective without emotion, until the duke came to the stanza which accused him of meditating the murder of Louis XV. At this atrocious charge the regent burst into a passion of tears, and complained bitterly of the malice of his enemies. Having alluded to the removal of the Duc de Maine, the poet proceeds to the following effect:—

this work, and likewise searched the ancient chronicles and the works of ancient and modern jurists, until excess of fatigue disposed the princess to take some repose. I had then to read to her until she fell asleep, after which I had to seek slumbers I did not always find."—*Mémoires de Madame de Staël.*

* "The little dwarf (the Duchess de Maine) says, that she has more courage than her husband, her son, and her brother-in-law; and that, like another Jael, she would murder my son with her own hand by driving a nail into his forehead. When I exhort him to be on his guard, he laughs and nods his head, as if I had told him some story . . . . She said aloud that her husband and brother-in-law were cowards; and that, though she was only a woman, she was capable of demanding an audience from the regent and plunging a dagger in his heart."—*Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse, &c.*

† "The Duc de Maine has not been banished to the country; he was allowed to go with his family whither he pleased; but he does not like to remain at Paris, where he no longer enjoys his former rank. He loves better to inhabit Sceaux, where he has a mansion richly furnished and a beautiful park."—*Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse*, &c.

‡ "The goddess of the place has been insulted," said Arouet (Voltaire), "all Parnassus must be roused to redress her wrongs."

"And thou, royal infant, unfortunate king,
This blow has predestined the day of thy doom;
The demon of death has waved o'er thee his wing,
And quits not his prey 'till it sleep in the tomb;
Thy childhood is safe while he reigns in thy name,
But when time shall incite thee to manly endeavor,
Thine eyes shall detect not his crime and his shame,
He is practised in arts that will close them for ever."

La Grange Chancel was vindictively prosecuted; he fled to Avignon, which, being then part of the papal territory, was deemed an inviolable asylum; but he was induced to cross the French frontier by a treacherous artifice of the police, and was sent to one of the dungeons in the Chateau d'If, where he amused his leisure by writing satires against the governor.

Voltaire assailed the regent as implacably, but far more adroitly. His tragedy of Œdipus was the most cruel revenge he could take on the regent for his imprisonment in the Bastile. It was a kind of allegory of the court, with its deplorable morals, its mysterious tales, and the horrible crimes imputed to the regent. It needed not to point the allusions; every spectator comprehended that the traditional honors of Thebes shadowed forth the orgies of the Luxembourg, but Voltaire had the wisdom to seem unaware of these applications; he even induced the regent and the Duchess de Berri to attend several representations of the piece. The regent with great wisdom seemed so unconscious of being aimed at that he gave the poet a pension, and the Duchess de Berri showed a marked anxiety to court his friendship. This policy, however, did not prevent the phrases, "Regent Œdipus" and "Jocasta de Berri" from being current in every circle throughout Paris.*

Among the visitors at Sceaux we have already mentioned the President de Mesmes; with him came the Cardinal de Polignac, author of an unreadable Latin poem called the Anti-Lucretius, but more honorably known for his devotion to the diplomacy and system of Louis XIV. Laval and Pompadour represented, in this little court, the hostility of the provincial nobility to the ducal peers and their extravagant claims. Poets, philosophers, and historians assembled at Sceaux, and over this enlightened circle presided Nicholas de Malazieu, equally remarkable for his brilliant powers of conversation and his deep erudition. He had been appointed by Louis XIV. tutor to the Duc de Maine; the duchess immediately on her marriage placed herself under his tuition, and

* "A Latin epigraph, ascribed to Voltaire, concentrates in it more bitter calumny against the regent than the Philippics of La Grange Chancel."

studied the noble productions of the Greek dramatists, scenes from whose works were often declaimed by the lively princess and her preceptor. All the amusements at Sceaux were of an intellectual character; if sometimes they had the fault of pedantic affectation and ill-regulated fancy, they were sullied by none of the vices which disgraced the orgies of the regent.

A vigorous pamphlet in favor of the regent, called "Fitzmaurice's Letters," appeared simultaneously in London and Paris. Several answers were concocted at Sceaux, and one in particular, written by the Abbé Birgaut,* was deemed so important that the question of its authorship was treated as an affair of state. But public opinion had not so matured in France as to be sensitive to the influence of pamphlets. The Duchess de Maine organized a conspiracy by which she hoped to disturb and overthrow the whole political system which the quadruple alliance had established in Europe. For this purpose it was necessary to secure the support of Spain, and she secretly opened a system of communication with the Spanish ambassador, the Prince de Cellamare.

There was something of romance in this political intrigue which gratified the exalted imagination of the Duchess de Maine. Servants could not be trusted; Dubois had his spies and emissaries everywhere; interviews were therefore arranged at masked balls; at country seats near Paris; and when the duchess visited Cellamare, the Count de Laval or the Marquis de Pompadour acted as her coachman. It was proposed to convoke the States-General, to declare the treaty of the quadruple alliance invalid, to depose the regent, and to bring him to trial on the countless charges which had been accumulated against him. To attain these objects the President de Mesmes was to secure the Parliament; Cardinal de Polignac answered for the church, then agitated by new disputes on the bull *Unigenitus;* the Count de Laval declared himself assured of the provincial nobility and gentry,—but he spoke more in accordance with his wishes than his knowledge,—and the Marquis de Pompadour undertook to secure the support of the Huguenots.

The first step proposed was that the King of Spain should write both to Louis XV. and the Parliament of Paris, demanding the convocation of the States-General. Drafts of these letters were prepared by M. Malazieu and the Cardinal de Polignac; but the

* So says Madame de Staël, but there is reason to believe that it was written partly from the dictation of the Duchess de Maine. Cotemporaries ascribe it to Malazieu or the Cardinal de Polignac.

rough copy with its erasures and interlineations was unaccountably mislaid, and all efforts to recover this dangerous document were unavailing. Mademoiselle Delaunay, who was high in the confidence of the Duchess de Maine, was alarmed at the want of prudence and caution shown by the members of the conspiracy, but the duchess laughed to scorn all apprehensions from the regent, and seemed to think that the only thing to be dreaded was an excess of timidity and caution on the part of the Duc de Maine.

When all the papers connected with the conspiracy were ready, the Abbé Portocarrero, a young man about twenty-six years of age, was chosen to convey them to Spain, whither he was about to return. A post-chaise was prepared with a double flooring, and in this the documents were deposited. Two explanations are given of the mode in which Dubois became acquainted with the conspiracy. The common report was, that the secretary of the Spanish embassy had an assignation with a pretty woman, to whom he excused himself for not keeping his appointment, by saying that he had been delayed, having to prepare important dispatches for Portocarrero. The girl related the circumstance to one of her companions who occasionally received visits from the regent, and she told him of the matter, apparently ignorant of the importance of the communication. Another story is, that the person employed to copy the dispatches at the Spanish embassy was actually a spy in the pay of Dubois, to whom he revealed their contents. There is no inconsistency between the two stories: the substance of the documents might have been learned from one party and the name of the bearer from another.

Portocarrero was accompanied on his journey by the Marquis de Monteleone and the Chevalier de Mira; the latter was deeply in debt, and, under the pretence that he was escaping with valuable property from his creditors, orders were given for his arrest. The travelers were stopped at Poictiers; they claimed their privilege as servants of an ambassador, but were told that they must be detained until inquiries were made. Portocarrero sent off a courier with an account of his detention, who reached Paris some hours before the messenger dispatched to the regent; the latter also arrived at a time when the regent, enjoying one of his orgies, would not listen to any subject connected with affairs of state. Cellamare had therefore sixteen hours to destroy the papers which compromised so many individuals; but he neglected this obvious precaution, probably because he believed that the blow was really aimed at the fugitive De Mira. He however gave notice of the event to the Abbé Bregaut.

On the morning of the 9th of December, 1718, the hotel of the Spanish ambassador was occupied by a strong detachment of troops; the Prince of Cellamare was taken into custody, and all his papers seized by the police. He immediately addressed a circular to the other ambassadors, complaining bitterly of so flagrant a violation of diplomatic privileges and the law of nations; but none of the other ambassadors joined in the protest.

The news of this event spread rapidly through Paris, and soon reached the little court at Sceaux, where it surprised all who were not in the secret, but seriously alarmed those who were conscious of the conspiracy.* The documents found with Portocarrero consisted of two drafts of a manifesto, one prepared by the Marquis de Pompadour, and the other by the Abbé Bregaut; some insignificant observations and criticisms of Bregaut on both projects; a memoir by the Count de Laval, on the means of raising insurrections in the provinces when the Spanish army should arrive; an extract from a treatise of Pierre Dupuy on majorities and regencies; a catalogue of the French officers who sought employment in the Spanish service; a private letter from Cellamare to Alberoni, strongly recommending to him the Chevalier Saint Geniez and the Count d'Aydie; and finally, a formal dispatch, containing an inventory of these papers. The search at the Spanish embassy added nothing of importance to these documents. There was

* "In the afternoon of the same day, the Chevalier de Gavaudun, one of the gentlemen of the household of the Duc de Maine, came into my room; M. de Valincourt was with me. 'Here are great news,' he said; 'the hotel of the Spanish embassy is invested; the whole quarter is filled with troops, and no one knows what is the matter.' I was seized with terror, but I exerted myself to show nothing but surprise in the presence of M. de Valincourt, who knew nothing of our affairs. Gavaudun was in the secret; he left us, having only come to tell me what had happened. M. de Valincourt remained a long time with me discussing this event, at which he was much astonished. I wonder how he escaped noticing my confusion, which I was scarce able to conceal. I had to sustain a second visit from the Abbé de Chanlieu, who kept me in the same constraint. The arrest of the ambassador, and conjectures as to the cause formed the entire subject of conversation. Madame the Duchess de Maine, on her side, had not less trouble to keep a good countenance amid the crowd that surrounded her. Every one who arrived told the news, adding circumstances, but speaking of nothing else! She did not venture to withdraw from this most inopportune assembly, fearing her anxiety might be discovered. She summoned me for a minute to her wardrobe, and asked me if I had heard anything particular. I told her I knew nothing but the public report, by which I was much alarmed. She was equally so, though she could not conjecture to what it all tended. She sent me to make some inquiries, but I could not procure a particle of accurate information."—*Mémoires de Madame de Staël.*

found no trace of a solemn engagement to revolt, said to have been signed by several hundred conspirators.

The Marquis of Pompadour and the Chevalier Saint Geniez were sent to the Bastile, and directions were forwarded along the roads for the arrest of the Abbé Bregaut. He was seized before he could escape from the kingdom; and as he proffered every possible information to save his life, the regent was soon acquainted with all the ramifications of the conspiracy. Arrests became numerous; three hundred nobles, gentlemen, officers, and men of letters, were seized and sent either to the Bastile or Vincennes; the Duc de Maine was confined in the castle of Dourlens, and his duchess in the castle of Dijon, under the charge of her great enemy, the Duc de Bourbon. Mademoiselle Delaunay was sent to the Bastile and interrogated with great severity; but she refused to betray the confidence reposed in her. At a later period the Duc de Richelieu was arrested; he had plotted on his own account, promising to open the gates of Bayonne to the Spaniards; and the regent said publicly, that if Richelieu had four heads there were charges that would justify the loss of them.

But this conspiracy, after all, had been too vague and indefinite to be formidable; a few weeks in confinement cured most of its members of their propensity to dabble in plots. The Duchess de Maine set the example of submission to the regent; and to obtain a pardon, furnished him with full details of all the proceedings from the commencement, exonerating herself and her husband at the expense of the rest. Her captivity was gradually relaxed; and early in 1720 she was permitted to return to Sceaux. The Duc de Maine, who attributed all his misfortunes to her intrigues and indiscretions, refused to live with her; she sent supplicatory letters to him, but in vain; and at length actually went to the regent to beg that he would effect a reconciliation between herself and her husband. The regent replied by an apt compliment to her personal charms, at which she was so delighted that she sprang from the sofa on which she was sitting, kissed him on both cheeks, and overwhelmed him with caresses.* All the others sub-

* "Two days after (the arrest of the Marquis de Pompadour) Madame the Duchess de Maine playing at *Biribi* as usual, M. de Chatillon, who kept the bank, said, 'Truly, there are pleasant news; they have arrested and sent to the Bastile, about this Spanish affair, a certain Abbé Bri—Bri—' he could not remember the name, and those who knew it had no wish to aid him. At last he caught it, and added: 'What makes it so pleasant is, that he has told everything, and has compromised a vast number of people.' And he then burst into a loud laugh for the first time in his life. Madame

mitted to the same humiliations as the duchess :* they made penitent confessions, petitioned for pardon, and signed the most groveling professions of future submission. The regent has got the credit for magnanimity in not bringing them to trial; but he had rendered them powerless by exhibiting them to the world as perfectly contemptible; and no more efficacious revenge could have been taken. The only result of the conspiracy was that it afforded France a plausible pretext for declaring war against Spain.

The movement in favor of constitutional freedom, and the convocation of the States-General, had easily been crushed in Paris; the legitimated princes had shown an utter want of political courage or sagacity; the lively little duchess had acted with the capriciousness of a spoiled child; the Duc de Richelieu had shown more prowess in gallantry than in policy: half the ladies of the court joined in supplicating the regent for his pardon; the other nobles thought of nothing but securing their personal safety; and the whole affair had very much the appearance of a comedy with a bad plot and worse actors. Far different was the case with the provincial nobles and gentry; they had taken the cause seriously to heart, and were resolved to carry it out with spirit.

The connection between Brittany and France had some striking points of similitude to that between England and Ireland. The Bretons, like the Irish, are a Celtic race, and, though nominally united to France, they had preserved a nationality of language, customs, and institutions, such as existed in Ireland before the wars of Elizabeth. Even at the present day, there are many districts in Brittany where the French language is as little understood as the English was in many parts of Ireland before the erection of the National Schools. The term "Frank" was used in Brittany as that of "Saxon" is in Ireland, to express hatred to an alien race that had entered on the inheritance which belonged exclu-

the Duchess, who had no desire to join him, said, 'Yes, it is very pleasant; it is enough to make one die of laughter.' He resumed. 'Figure to yourself people who believed their affairs secret, while this fellow tells more than he is asked, and compromises everybody by name.' This last phrase threw our princess into the most cruel disquiet, and quite unexpectedly, for Laval had sent word that the abbé had escaped, and that measures had been so well taken as to leave nothing to fear. She sustained Chatillon's painful conversation to the end, without showing any sign of the emotions by which she was agitated. She told me of it at night, and displayed her fears, which I could not dissipate, being well assured of the sad fate that awaited her. Every day there was somebody arrested, and we were only waiting for our turn."—*Mémoires de Madame de Stael.*

* Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse d'Orleans.

sively to the Celts; and countless Breton ballads celebrate the cruelties perpetrated by the ruling Franks and the desperate vengeance wreaked by the oppressed Bretons. There were, however, many marked differences between the political condition of Brittany and that of Ireland. Brittany had been an organized kingdom, which Ireland never was; its clan system had quietly changed into the feudal system without any of the convulsions which marked the establishment of feudality in the rest of Europe. The lords lived among their vassals, and were sometimes little elevated above them in fortune; for we find that no less than thirty thousand nobles had a right to vote in the States of Brittany. Unlike the rest of the French nobility, the barons of Brittany preferred a rude and almost barbarous independence in their own castles to the splendid servility of the court. Their dislike to the Franks and their monarchs was nurtured by numerous ballads, which described the treachery to which every noble Breton was exposed who ventured to seek his fortune at the Court of Paris.* All the

* So little is known of Breton literature, that we trust we shall do an acceptable service by giving some account of one of these legends, which is entitled, "A Page of Louis XI." The ballad opens with a description of the young page's sufferings in the prison into which he had been thrown by the king. A vassal of his house comes to the grating, and the page sends him to inform his sister of his danger, and to beg that she would come to embrace him before his death.

The second "fytte" describes the speed with which the vassal performed his task, and the distress which his intelligence produced in the page's family. It ends with the sister's departure from Paris.

The third "fytte" we shall translate literally. "The king's young page said, as he mounted the first step of the scaffold, 'Death would have no terror were it not far from my country, and without sympathizing attendance; were it not far from my country, were it not without friends, were it not for my sister in Brittany. She will ask for her brother every night; she will ask for her little brother every hour.' The young page said, as he mounted the second step of the scaffold, 'I would wish before I die to have news of my country; to have news of my sister, of my dear little sister. Does she know it?' The young page said, as he mounted the third step of the scaffold, 'I hear the tramp of horses in the street: my sister and her suite are coming! My sister is coming to see me! In the name of God wait a little!' The provost, when he heard him, replied: 'Before she arrives your head will be severed from your body.' At this moment, the dame De Bodinio asked of the Parisians: 'Why is there such a crowd of men and women?' 'Louis XI., Louis, the traitor, is going to behead a poor page.' As these words were spoken she beheld her brother. She perceived her brother kneeling with his head on the block. She urged her horse to full speed, and cried: 'My brother, my brother! spare him to me! Spare him, archers, and I will give you a hundred golden crowns!' As

nationality of the Bretons centered in the states of the province but the Parliament of Brittany, like that of Paris, had declared that the questions which the regent had so summarily decided in a bed of justice could only be settled by the States-General, and they resolved to resist their execution by force.

Brittany was at this time governed by Pierre d'Artagnan de Montesquiou, Marshal of France, an old warrior, who had been in the army for nearly sixty years, and who carried to an extravagant excess his military habits of discipline and obedience. He placed garrisons in the principal towns, and issued an edict forbidding the nobles to form any union or association without the express permission of the king. He was obeyed in the towns where the merchants and traders, then rapidly making fortunes by the commerce of India and America, cared little for antiquated traditions and poetic dreams of visionary nationality. Secret associations were formed by the nobles and peasants throughout Brittany to maintain the independence of their states and the nationality of their province: ladies joined in the movement, and the popular ballads still celebrate the patriotism of the baronesses of Kauköen and Bounnamour.*

The plan of the nobility and peasants was to organize an armed federation to resist the encroachments of the government. Every one who claimed the rank of gentleman was enjoined to enrol himself in this league, under pain of losing his titles, his arms, and his Breton nationality: emissaries went from castle to castle to procure signatures to the federative act, and among the chosen chiefs of the insurrection we find the lords of Bounnamour, Pontcalec, Montlouis, Talhouet le Moine, Couëdic, and Rohan-Polduc. They resolved to proclaim the independence of Brittany, and to

she reached the scaffold the severed head of her brother fell, and the blood spurted on her vail, so that it was crimsoned from top to bottom."

In the fourth "fytte" the lady seeks an audience of the king, to demand why her brother was put to death. Louis, after some shuffling, informs her that the page had killed one of his favorites. "Hand to hand and sword to sword, because he heard the old proverb; the old and true proverb: There are no men in Brittany, but savage hogs." The lady then defies the king, and quits his presence vowing vengeance.

The fifth and last "fytte" shows how this vow was kept. The enraged Bretons invade Normandy, and slay ten thousand Franks to avenge the murdered page. There is probably some historical foundation for the ballad, as the Bretons did revolt and invade Normandy during the reign of Louis XI. in 1467.

* It was a lady, the Baroness d'Egelac, who betrayed the secret of the conspiracy to the regent.

place it under the protection of Spain.* Envoys were sent to the Court of Madrid, and were favorably received by Alberoni. They made no attempt to conceal their objects; accordingly, it was not long before information of their intrigues was sent to the regent.

Marshal de Montesquiou, at the first appearance of the revolt, applied to the regent for military aid, and large bodies of troops were sent into Brittany, amongst whom were those terrible dragoons, whose remorseless cruelty had been so memorably displayed in suppressing the insurrection of the Camisards. In many respects the revolt in Brittany resembled the Irish Rebellion of 1798. There was the same want of unity and concert; the same senseless insurrections at isolated points, and the same treacherous betrayal of the leaders by their accomplices. After a few sharp skirmishes, rather than regular battles, the Bretons, with the inconstancy of the Celtic race, threw down their arms, made submission, and left their daring young leaders to the vengeance of the outraged law. They trusted, however, that these bold men might escape, as the regular law courts of Brittany would never convict them;† but this had been foreseen by the regent and D'Argenson. In October, 1719, a royal commission was issued, constituting a special tribunal for the trial of the insurgents, quite independent of the provincial authorities. Most of the Breton leaders escaped to Spain, where they obtained small pensions from Philip V., and lived in great wretchedness.‡ Martial law was proclaimed in Brittany: whenever Montesquiou received information of an assembly of Bretons in the recesses of their forests, he sent his unscrupulous dragoons to scour the country and fire the cottages of the unhappy peasantry. The bravest of the insurgents were some bands of smugglers, who fought with great desperation, and more than once inflicted severe checks on the

* Brittany had been the stronghold of the League, and had held out to the last against Henry IV. This had brought the Bretons into close connection with the Spaniards. Philip V. in a letter dated June, 1719, declares himself ready to become the protector of the Breton privileges and franchises.

† It is hardly necessary to point out to our readers the similarity between the conduct of the Bretons to their insurgent chiefs, and that of "Young Ireland" in the recent case of John Mitchell.

‡ Marshal de Tesse, who visited Madrid in 1724, writes: "I have seen some of those miserable Bretons crawling about here; in their present condition no apprehensions need be entertained of their raising a revolt in Brittany." Such of them as survived were subsequently pardoned by Louis XV.

regular troops; but an undisciplined peasantry could not long resist a regular army, and soon the streets of Rennes and Nantes were crowded with troops of unfortunate prisoners, destined to be butchered under perverted forms of law.

The judicial chamber at Nantes became the terror of Brittany; the memory of its severities has not been effaced by the lapse of more than a century. None of the victims of this illegal court excited such sympathy as Pontcalec, Montlouis, Talhouet, and Couëdic,* who were tried and condemned together. They were all young men. Clement de Guer-Malestroit, Marquis de Pontcalec, had not attained his twenty-second year. Every form of law was violated at their trial; all their countrymen were excluded from the judicial bench; the president of the court was a Savoyard; and their condemnation was pronounced before their arraignment. They were executed by torchlight on the night of the 26th of March; no attempt was made at a rescue, as the victims are said to have expected; the burgesses were averse to their cause, the peasants too thoroughly panic-stricken to encounter troops again; and the most braggart of their accomplices had already made terms of pardon with the government.† They met their fate with great firmness;‡ their memory is still revered; they are regarded as saints and martyrs, and countless elegies were written bewailing their fate.

This tragedy forms the subject of a beautiful and characteristic Breton ballad, which, in spite of its length, we have translated literally. We give it a place in the text, as it helps to illustrate the hostility which the peasantry of Brittany have ever since manifested to the House of Orleans—a hostility keenly felt both by Philip Egalité and Louis Philippe.

* Their history, very slightly disguised by fiction, forms the subject of one of Dumas's best romances, called *La fille du Regent.*

† The parallel instances in the history of Ireland will suggest themselves to the minds of most readers. We have been assured, on what we consider good authority, that the unfortunate John Mitchell fully expected that some effort would have been made to rescue him by the Young Irelanders. They had every opportunity, if they had had the courage to make the attempt, for the Garrison of Dublin was being reviewed in the park at the time of his removal from prison to the convict-ship.

‡ They only showed emotion when the executioner cut off the tresses of long flowing hair, of which the Bretons have always been proud, as characteristic of their nationality. It is said that the Breton exiles at Madrid offered up prayers publicly in the churches for the preservation of the nationality of Brittany.

THE DEATH OF PONTCALEC.

A new song has been composed: it has been made on the Marquis de Pontcalec.

"Thou who hast betrayed him be accursed, be accursed! Be accursed, thou who hast betrayed him.

On the young Marquis of Pontcalec so beautiful, so gallant, so full of heart;

He loved the Bretons, for he was born amongst them.

Thou who hast betrayed him be accursed, be accursed! Be accursed, thou who hast betrayed him;

For he was born amongst them, and brought up amongst them—

He loved the Bretons, but not the citizens,

Who are always seeking to injure those who have neither lands nor goods.*

To those who have only the labor of their two arms† night and day to support their mothers,

He had formed a plan to relieve us of our burthens,‡

A great cause of spite to the citizens, who, therefore, sought an opportunity to have him beheaded.

—My lord marquis, conceal yourself quickly: this time they have tracked him.

II.

"He has disappeared for a long time: they sought him but found him not.

A mendicant from the city, who begged his bread, was the person that betrayed him.

A peasant would not have betrayed him, even if he had been offered five hundred crowns.

It was the festival of lady-day in harvest, the precise time the dragoons§ were in the field.

'Tell me, dragoons, are you not in search of the marquis?'

'We are in search of the marquis. Do you know how he is dressed?'

'He is clothed in the fashion of the country—a blue surtout richly embroidered;

A blue waistcoat with white frill, leather gaiters, and cloth trousers;

A little straw hat stitched with red thread; long black hair flowing down his shoulders.

A leathern girdle, with two double-barreled Spanish pistols.

His outer dress is of coarse stuff, but he wears embroidery inside.

If you will give me three hundred crowns I will help you to find him.'

'We will not give you three half-pence, but plenty of blows with our sabres—a very different matter.

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* This sentiment is common to Brittany and Ireland.

† The Irish say, "the labor of these four bones."

‡ The Breton, like the Irish peasant, looked to "a repeal of the union," not for the restoration of nationality, but for some amelioration of his physical condition.

§ The accounts which the Bretons had received of the cruelties practiced by the dragoons in the Cevennes filled them with great fear of these troops.

We will not give you three half-pence, but you shall help us to take Pontcalec.'
'Dear dragoons, in the name of God, do me not harm, and I will put you on his track.
He is below in the parlor of the glebe house at table with the rector of Lignol.'

III.

"'My lord marquis, fly, fly! See, the dragoons are coming;
The dragoons with their glittering weapons and red coats.'
'I cannot believe that a dragoon would dare to lay hands on me.
I cannot believe that it is the fashion for dragoons to lay hands on marquises.'
He had not finished speaking when they filled the saloon,
And he at once seized his pistols. 'I fire on the first who approaches.'
Seeing this, the old rector threw himself at the marquis's knees;
'In the name of God our Saviour, do not fire, my dear lord,
In the name of our Saviour who has suffered so patiently.'
At this name of the Saviour, tears flowed in spite of him.
His head drooped, his teeth chattered, but raising himself he said: 'Let us go.'
As he traversed the parish of Lignol, the peasants said—
They, the inhabitants of Lignol, said, 'It is a shame to pinion the marquis.'
As he passed near Berné a crowd of children came:
'Good-day, good-day, lord marquis, we are going to the village to our catechism.'
'Adieu, my good little children, I shall never see you again.'*
'Where are you going, then, my lord, will you not soon return?'
'I cannot tell: God alone knows: dear little ones I am in danger.'
He wished to caress them, but his hands were fettered:
Hard would be the heart which remained unmoved; the dragoons themselves wept.
And nevertheless soldiers have hearts of stone in their bosoms.
When he arrived at Nantes he was judged and condemned,
Not by his peers, but by men who came from the backs of coaches.†
They asked Pontcalec: 'Lord marquis, what have you done?'
'My duty; do you do yours.'‡

IV.

"On the first Sunday of the Easter of this year,§ a message came to Berné.
'Good luck to all the village, where is the rector of this parish?'
'He is gone to say high mass; he is about to begin his sermon.'
As he was going up into the pulpit, they placed a letter on his book.

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* Countless anecdotes are still related by the Breton peasants, illustrating the marquis's love for children.

† Footmen; still a common phrase in Brittany, and applied to *parvenus*.

‡ Talmont gave the same answer to the revolutionary tribunal.

§ It is common to find the date of the Breton ballads thus fixed by some incidental allusion.

He could not read it, his eyes were so full of tears.
'What news has come, that our rector weeps so bitterly?'
'I weep, my children, for a cause that will make you weep also.
He is dead, ye poor, who fed you, who clothed you, who sustained you.
He is dead who dearly loved his country, who loved it to the death.
He is dead, ye inhabitants of Berné, who loved you as I love you,
Dead at the age of twenty-two years, as die martyrs and saints.
May God have mercy on his soul! our lord is dead! My voice fails.
Thou who hast betrayed him, be accursed, be accursed! Be accursed, thou who hast betrayed him!'"

The letter alluded to in the ballad, which announced the death of those four gentlemen to the rector of Berné is still preserved by the family of Couëdic, and has been partly published by Villemarque in the last edition of his "Bards of Brittany." It was written by one of the clergymen who accompanied the condemned to the scaffold. Even at the moment of execution the joyous humor of the young marquis did not fail him for an instant. "After having confessed M. de Couëdic," says the clergyman, "I retired saluting him; wishing to return the salute he asked, 'Where is my hat?'—'Ha, what need have we of hats?' asked M. de Pontcalec; 'they will soon chop off what the hat fits on.' When he saw M. de Montlouis brought in, he said, 'There is a very honest man they are about to put to death.' And he ran to embrace him, saying, 'What injustice! The only complaint he uttered was forced from him by his feelings of pride; when the executioner tied the hands of his companions, he exclaimed: 'What! tie the hands of gentlemen! condemn men to a malefactor's death who have never drawn a sword against the state. This is the conduct of that judicial chamber which they said was to be distinguished for its clemency. See the clemency they show. They said that M. de Montlouis would be pardoned; why, then, do they tie his hands?'"

When the executioner came to pinion the young marquis, he was so greatly moved by his youth and beauty, that he tried to stammer out some complimentary excuse. Pontcalec said to him, "I will go to the scaffold without having my hands tied." He then went to pinion M. de Couëdic, but finding him already bound, did not touch him. That gentleman then cried out for the first time, "This, then, is my recompense after twenty-eight years of service! I have exposed my head a thousand times for the king, and now he cuts it off on the scaffold!"

As the condemned marched to the place of execution, the courage and youth of Pontcalec made all the spectators shed tears;

so that the priest said to him, "The crowd bewails your fate, but the crowd did not compassionate Jesus Christ."—"Oh, what a difference!" he exclaimed, and then frequently repeated *Pater, fiat voluntas tua.** The sight of the scaffold did not shake his firmness. In spite of the remonstrances of his confessor, who advised him to turn away his eyes, he steadily regarded the apparatus of death, and said, "What a spectacle, good father, what a spectacle!" He was to ascend the scaffold last. When the friends reached the foot of the scaffold, they took a tender farewell of each other, and mutually embraced, as well as pinioned persons could. Montlouis first received the stroke of death; before dying, he knelt near the block and recited aloud a prayer to the Blessed Virgin. "The sound of his voice was firm, and the tone clear," says the attendant clergyman. "When the executioner came to summon M. de Talhouet," says the same authority, "he said to me, with an air of equal frankness and tenderness, 'Let us go, good father,' and then turning to the spectators he said, 'Pray to God for the repose of my soul.' I saw several take off their hats, replying, as they fell on their knees, 'We will do so fervently and sincerely.' When I came down from the scaffold, I was told that my face and vestments were stained with blood."

When Pontcalec's turn was come, he said to his confessor, "I pardon, from the bottom of my heart, those who have caused my death," and he then added with a smile, "that is rather a sorrowful compliment." When he laid his head on the block, he several times repeated *Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non despicies.*† "I heard him also," continues the clergyman, "several times exclaim, *Jesus Maria:*" his last words were, "My God, into thy hands I commit my spirit."

The bodies, by the command of the regent were buried without toll of bell or chanted psalm. They were conveyed to a neighboring monastery, where the monks interred them with such maimed rites as the jealousy of power permitted; they recited, in a low voice, the prayers and psalms which they were forbidden to sing, and voluntarily said masses for the repose of the departed souls.

This affecting tragedy, which has inspired both dramatists and novelists in France, struck terror into the hearts of the nobility, not only in Brittany, but in all the other provinces. The magistrates who had been refractory were expelled from the Parliament, though the French laws guaranteed the inviolability of the judicial

* "Father, thy will be done."

† "A contrite and humble heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

office. The constitution of the States of Brittany was arbitrarily changed, the number of representatives being reduced to one hundred and fifty, who were allowed to assemble only once in two years; and taxes were levied by the royal authority.

Philip V. was deeply mortified by the failure of the insurrection in Brittany, and by the detection of his intrigues with the provincial nobility. He consoled himself, however, with a hope that a grandson of Louis XIV. would have overwhelming influence with the French army; he knew that the regent had incurred great popular odium by declaring war against Spain, and assembling forces to invade that country, and he relied for defence more on his supposed influence with the French soldiers than on the fidelity or valor of his own subjects. His best army was shut up in Sicily, where it defended itself with difficulty against the imperial forces, who were supported by an English fleet. Six thousand Spaniards had been placed under the command of the Duke of Ormond, to attempt an invasion in favor of the Pretender —an enterprise now rendered hopeless by the death of Charles XII. Under these circumstances, it was with difficulty that Philip could collect together fifteen thousand men, with which he advanced towards Navarre.*

The French army was far more powerful; Villars had refused to take any command in a war which he disapproved, but his place was supplied by the Duke of Berwick. Every one was surprised to see the natural son of James II. acting against the Spaniards at a time when the great object of their policy was to place his legitimate brother on the throne of England. Berwick had fought for Philip V., in the War of the Succession; he had received several favors from the king; he had placed his second son in the Spanish service, where he had attained the rank of a

* "Philip determined to put himself at the head of these forces, deceived by the flattering representations of his agents, and trusting that at his approach the French soldiers would quit their ranks and hail as their chief the only surviving grandson of Louis XIV. He arrived at Pamplona, attended by the queen, the Prince of Asturias, and the prime minister, and, in pursuance of his hopes, prepared an address to the soldiers of Berwick, and assigned the very regiments in which those who should come over were to be enrolled. Nay, so confident was he of the issue, that he had formed the design of advancing almost alone amongst the French troops and claiming their allegiance as the rightful regent. But Alberoni, afraid to endanger his majesty's person in this romantic enterprise, opposed it by urgent remonstrances, and finding these received with less docility than usual, contrived to defeat it by a false order, and consequent delay of the royal attendants."—Lord Mahon's *History of England*, vol. i.

grandee of Spain, with the title of the Duke of Liria. But Berwick, exiled more than thirty years from his country, had adopted some of the principles of a mere mercenary, and was ready to fight in any quarrel at the will of his paymaster.* The regent, who knew how unpopular the Spanish war was in France, was anxious to place at the head of the army a general having sufficient reputation to gratify the soldiers. For the same reason, he was eager that a prince of the blood should take a share in a campaign against the head of the royal family. He applied to the Prince de Conti, then about twenty-four years of age, and only known by his dissolute habits and his intimate connections with the Prior of Vendôme; he appointed him lieutenant-general, and gave him the chief command of the cavalry. Conti knew his own importance, and drove a hard bargain;† he received one hundred and fifty thousand livres, and a service of silver plate; but, not content with this, he insisted that all his traveling expenses should be charged to the treasury.

Before Berwick joined the army, M. de Silly, who held the temporary command, crossed the Bidassoa, and subdued the fort of Passages, in the harbor of which he found six ships of war on the stocks, which he burned, at the instigation of Colonel William Stanhope, who accompanied the army as a kind of commissioner on the part of England. A detachment soon after captured Santona, where three more ships of war were similarly destroyed. These events, the naval victory obtained by Byng, and a tempest which destroyed a Spanish squadron off Finisterre, completed the ruin of the navy of Spain, which Alberoni had made such exer-

* It is only justice to insert the explanation which Berwick has given of his conduct in his memoirs. "The Marshal de Berwick was chosen to command the army, in consequence of the singular confidence reposed in him by the regent on all occasions; he was, however, more grieved by this war than any man in France. Besides the reasons common to all Frenchmen, he had private ones peculiar to himself; he had twice saved Spain; the benefits he had received from Philip V. attached him specially to that sovereign: but, on the other hand, he was bound by ties of gratitude to the regent, who was attacked personally in this war. But all these considerations in the mind of Berwick ever yielded to a strong sense of duty: it was indispensable for him, as Governor of Guienne, and warden of the frontier, to execute the orders he received to attack Spain without going beyond these orders. A refusal to serve would have been a violation of his duty; it would have been dangerous, it might almost have been criminal if it found many imitators; he obeyed, then, because it was his duty to obey."—*Suite Abrégée des Mémoires de Berwick.*

† See Mémoires de St. Simon, vol. xxxii.

tions to restore, and this destruction was ascribed to the commercial jealousy of England.*

Berwick, on assuming the command, laid siege to Fontarabia, which surrendered after a siege of three weeks, and he had similar success at Saint Sebastian, the Spaniards being too weak to offer any resistance. It was his purpose to advance against Pamplona, but, at the request of Stanhope, after having received the submission of the province of Guipiscoa, he crossed the Pyrenees, to invade Spain on the other side, and destroy the naval arsenals of Catalonia.

All Alberoni's plans had failed; the rebellion was quelled in Scotland; the Jacobites of England were too intimidated to move; the Hungarians refused to revolt against Austria; the unfortunate Bretons had paid dearly for their disaffection; the Spanish army in Sicily was on the brink of ruin, and there were no means of resisting the French invasion.† Philip V., who had been hurried into the war by mortified pride and a personal dislike of the regent, fell into a profound melancholy, and from that moment formed the project of abdicating the crown, which he subsequently carried into effect. At the same time, he became irritated against the minister, whose worst fault was that he had yielded to all the whims of his capricious master, and had performed prodigies to accomplish his insensate projects. Alberoni's loss of favor commenced when he opposed Philip's Quixotic project of presenting himself alone to the French armies. He had just taken advantage of a victory gained by the Spaniards in Sicily, to make proposals of peace; but the two ministers of France and England, Dubois and Stanhope, had agreed never to consent to any peace until Alberoni should be banished from the councils of the king.‡ All

* "This was the chief object of the English in this war; they were always anxious to deprive Spain of her navy, in order that they might have exclusive possession of the wealth of the Indies."—*San Felipe Comment.*, vol. ii.

† An English armament surprised Vigo and some of the neighboring towns, where they obtained forty-three pieces of cannon, two thousand barrels of powder, and chests of arms containing about eight thousand muskets, being the stores collected for the Duke of Ormond's proposed invasion of England. This attack produced great consternation at the court of Madrid.—*See* Lord Mahon, chap. x.

‡ On the 22d of August, 1719, Stanhope wrote from Hanover to Dubois: "We shall act wrong if we do not consolidate the peace by the removal of the minister who has kindled the war; and, as he will never consent to peace until he finds his ruin inevitable, from the continuance of the war, we must make his disgrace an absolute condition of the peace. . . .

the efforts of the powerful, and all the intrigues of subordinate agents were directed against the cardinal. The pope, believing that he had been duped by him, denounced him as an infidel; the haughty Spaniards detested him as a foreigner; Daubenton,* Philip's confessor, knowing that Alberoni was anxious to put an Italian priest in his place, employed all his influence to prejudice the mind of his penitent against the minister. The restless Lord Peterborough, entering into diplomacy as amateur, persuaded the Duke of Parma to declare against his powerful subject, and to write a letter to the Queen of Spain recommending his dismissal. The queen's nurse attempted to raise against him the suspicion of being a poisoner; having seen him one day touch the king's shirt while it was airing, she threw the garment into the fire. Finally, the old Spanish remedy for a king's misfortunes was the disgrace of a minister.

On the evening of the 4th of December, 1719, Alberoni transacted business with the king, and saw nothing which could lead him to suppose that he had fallen out of favor. But, on the following morning, before he had completed his toilet, an edict was placed in his hands commanding him to leave Madrid in eight days and Spain within three weeks. All his efforts to obtain an audience failed; his letters remained unheeded, and he was forced to set out within the appointed time. He concealed himself in the mountainous parts of Italy until the death of Clement XI., when he regained favor at the papal court. He died at Rome in 1752, retaining his taste for political intrigues to the last hour of his life; and when no longer able to convulse Europe, condescended to be the great agitator in the mock court of the Pretender and the little republic of San Marino.

Let us exact from Philip his dismissal from Spain. We cannot propose to his majesty any condition which will be more advantageous to him and his people. Let us hold forth this example to Europe as a means of intimidating any turbulent minister, who breaks the most solemn treaties and attacks the persons of princes in the most scandalous manner. When Cardinal Alberoni is once driven from Spain, the Spaniards will never consent to his again coming into administration; even their Catholic majesties will have suffered too much from his pernicious counsels to desire his return. In a word, any peace made by the cardinal will be only an armistice of uncertain duration; nor can we depend upon any treaty, till we make it with a minister whose system is directly opposite to that of Alberoni, as well in regard to France in particular as to Europe in general."—Lord Mahon, chap. x.

* The regent recommended his ambassador to embroil Daubenton with Alberoni; he equally detested and feared both, and was anxious to destroy one by means of the other.—*Mémoires de Noailles.*

Philip V. believed that the dismissal of Alberoni would free him from the responsibility of all the faults he had induced that minister to warrant. He announced his desire for peace; but his first proposals were as haughty as if he had gained some great victory. He demanded the restitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, the possession of Sardinia, the reversion of Sicily, and the dismissal of the Abbé Dubois, as a compensation for the disgrace of Alberoni. But, when he was informed that he must either continue the war or subscribe to the conditions of the quadruple alliance, his pride at once gave way and he submitted to the terms dictated.

Thus the regent destroyed the last vestiges of the system of Louis XIV., setting up in its place another not less despotic, but better calculated to secure the peace of Europe. It must, however, be added that it was a system of gross corruption and demoralization; the courts both of London and Paris were disgraced by the grossest sensuality, which was not relieved by any of the refinements that sometimes impart elegance to dissipation. Law's Mississippi scheme in France, and the South Sea bubble in England, added to a vicious state of society all the incentives of wild and dangerous speculation. The system which the regent destroyed involved all the horrors and ravages of war; but that erected in its stead was fraught with almost all the vices that belong to an epoch when peace is identified with luxurious indolence, and when the passions which seek gratification in the field by honorable achievement are directed to obtaining promotion at the court by all the arts of meanness, treachery, and peculation.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.—PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO LAW.—COLONIZATION OF THE SETTLEMENTS CEDED TO HIM.—MADNESS OF SPECULATION.—ANECDOTE RELATING TO IT.—PASQUINADES.—POPULARITY OF LAW.—THE COUNT DE HORN.—HIS CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.—STATE OF PUBLIC MORALS SUPERINDUCED BY THE SCHEMERS.—THE BUBBLE ABOUT TO BURST.—M. DE CHIRAC AND HIS PATIENT.—EXPEDIENTS RESORTED TO BY LAW: HIS INFLUENCE FAILING.—HE RETIRES FROM PARIS.—THE PLAGUE IN FRANCE.—BELZUNCE, BISHOP OF MARSEILLES.—ODIOUS SELFISHNESS OF DUBOIS.—UTTER DOWNFALL OF THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.—SATIRICAL SONG ON LAW.

One of the chief elements of the regent's success in the war against Spain was the unexampled facilities of credit afforded by Law's bank. Such was the confidence reposed in this establishment, that its notes were deliberately preferred to specie; the state-bonds were exchanged for them, and the regent found it convenient to conduct all the financial operations of the government through the medium of the bank. Law did not perceive that this success resulted entirely from the general belief in the convertibility of the notes; there could be no motive for exchanging them for specie, at a time when they were deemed more valuable than coin: and this accidental circumstance, which arose from the recent debasement of the coinage, led Law into the fatal mistake of supposing that it would be possible to substitute an inconvertible paper-currency for bullion. The regent was at once led away by a project which seemed to give him unlimited supplies of money: he converted the old establishment into a royal bank, and authorized Law to buy up all the shares. The Parliament refused to register this edict, and denounced Law as a foreigner and a Protestant: orders for his arrest were given, which would have been executed had he not sought shelter in the Palais Royal, where he remained until the regent had overcome the opposition of the Parliament by holding a bed of justice, as described in the preceding chapter.

In order to keep up the premium on his notes, Law refused to receive cash in exchange for them, except at a discount, and the

holders of bullion, alarmed by the recent tampering with the coin, and perplexed by the great quantity of false money in circulation, willingly paid a premium for notes which could be more easily used in commerce, and which were not regulated at the discretion of a council of state. It became the object of Law to maintain this fictitious value of the notes, and even to increase it by offering certain commercial advantages to the holders of them, and by subjecting the circulation of gold and silver money to certain vexatious regulations and restrictions.

Commercial privileges were lavishly granted to the company of the royal bank, which had the monopoly of the farms in Alsace and some other provinces, the East India trade, the commerce of Canada and Senegal—countries then almost unknown; and finally, it obtained the exclusive right to colonize Louisiana and the large districts bordering on the Mississippi, ceded to France by the treaty of Utrecht.

The shares in Law's bank had risen to an exorbitant premium, simply from fair trading having enabled him to give a dividend of fourteen per cent. every half year. It was believed that similar or even greater profits might be obtained from shares in his other enterprises, and, the madness of speculation having once commenced, it was impossible to assign to it any reasonable limits.

Law's bank was erected in a short narrow street, in the most central quarter of old Paris, called La Rue Quincampoix. It was inhabited chiefly by Jewish and Christian usurers and pawnbrokers, whose unpopular trade required concealment. So soon as the news of the profits to be made on shares spread abroad, this miserable street became so thronged that the lieutenant of police would not allow it to remain a thoroughfare for carriages. Houses in the street, which previously yielded less than a thousand livres' rent, were let for as much as twelve or sixteen thousand. "A cobbler who had a stall in it, gained about two hundred livres a day by letting it out and furnishing writing materials to brokers and their clients. The story goes, that a hump-backed man who stood in the streets gained considerable sums by lending his hump as a writing-desk to the eager speculators! The great concourse of persons who assembled to do business brought a still greater concourse of spectators: these again drew all the thieves and immoral characters of Paris to the spot, and constant riots and disturbances took place. At nightfall, it was often found necessary to send a troop of soldiers to clear the streets."*

* Mackay's Popular Delusions, vol. i.

The great Company of the West, more usually called the Mississippi Company, undertook to colonize the vast tracts claimed by France in the interior of North America. These formed a kind of semicircle hemming in the English settlements: they included Canada in the north, and Louisiana in the south, together with the rich prairies extending from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico. Louis XIV. had ceded these unknown lands to a speculator named Crozat, who had traveled through the country, which he found to be either covered with primitive forests, or tenanted by hunting and warlike tribes of Indians, not very likely to allow settlers to intrude on their ground. "Crozat's Memoirs to the Minister of Marine" declare that there were no mines of the precious metals to be found in these lands; that the only commerce they afforded was a trade with the Indians for peltry; and he spoke dubiously of the agricultural capabilities of the soil, with the exception of the alluvial lands on the lower stream of the Mississippi. This was no very encouraging description, but, when speculation gave an impulse to fancy, it was generally believed that the back woods of America were a perfect El Dorado. Tales were told and readily credited of gold mines found in Canada; of alluvial plains in Louisiana, where the most precious spices grew almost without cultivation; prospects of illimitable wealth seemed opened to everybody; and Law was regarded as a kind of magician, who could create "ships, colonies, and commerce," by the wave of his wand.*

* The delusion was not universal; Crozat's sober Memoirs rendered all who knew them suspicious of the glowing descriptions circulated by the speculators. A clever pamphlet was published anonymously to show that the creation of colonies is a work of time, and that the generation which has founded them must not expect to witness their prosperity. Lampoons were circulated at the first formation of the company; one of these was to the following effect:—

"The Mississippi now is bare,
But towns and cities will spring up there
In about two hundred years;
We'll send our girls to those blithe lands,
Where eager husbands will seek their hands,
And soothe their maiden fears.

"Our miners will raise up precious ore,
Which is sure to be found on that happy shore,
If nature has placed it there.
The silver and gold our bonds will pay,—
The funds are safe—though they're far away,—
Which secure the price of each share."

The first object of the company, and one in which the regent took an active part, was to obtain a supply of labor for the proposed colonies. Efforts were made to enroll the peasants for emigration; but, as the recruiting officers found few volunteers, recourse was had to more violent measures, and a system of deportation—adopted in opposition to every principle of justice and liberty—excited neither clamor nor reprobation, provided it rendered the colony populous. Fresh activity was given to the slave-trade; the courts of justice were ordered to condemn criminals to transportation; the Protestants of the south were subjected to the same punishment; the police received orders to arrest all vagrants found on the roads and in the streets; but, as they were the sole judges of what constituted vagrancy, they seized and detained several honest burgesses,—not, indeed, to transport them, but to extort bribes for their liberation.

At the same time, all the houses of correction were emptied, and all the houses of ill-fame cleared by the police, in order to furnish a supply of wives to the colonists; three convoys successively arrived in Louisiana laden with female convicts, for whose reception on landing no preparation whatever had been made. In this melancholy confusion, we find only one fact of any importance: the city of New Orleans, now so flourishing, was founded by three or four score of smugglers, about a hundred miles above the mouth of the Mississippi. The regent had divided this immense territory on the map into duchies and marquisates, which he distributed among the persons eminent for position or wealth, and the aid of despotism was invoked to people these grants. Law made a bargain with the Elector Palatine and other princes of Germany, who agreed to supply him with twelve thousand of their subjects to people his grant; and, short as his career was, he had time to transport four thousand of these unhappy men to America. But there had been no arrangement and no foresight in this immense enterprise. The unfortunate men were landed in unknown marshes, overflowed every year by the river, without habitations, without a sufficient supply of provisions, at a season when yellow fever was most rife, and they perished for the most part in all the tortures of inexpressible misery.*

* "The richest prairies, the most inviting fields, in the southern valley of the Mississippi, were conceded to companies, or to individuals, who sought principalities in the New World. Thus it was hoped that at least six thousand white colonists would be established in Louisiana. To Law himself there was conceded on the Arkansas one of those vast prairies, of which the wide-spreading waves of verdure are bounded only by the azure

There had been two hundred thousand shares in the Mississippi Company sold at an original price of five hundred livres each; but the company, as we have already mentioned, entered into several other speculations, which enabled them to multiply the number of shares indefinitely. The price of shares was continually rising for several months; it sometimes rose ten or twenty per cent. in the course of a few hours. An extensive holder of stock, being taken ill, sent his servant to sell two hundred and fifty shares, at eight thousand livres each, the price at which they were then quoted being just sixteen times their original cost. When the servant reached the Rue Quincampoix, he found that in the interval the price had risen to ten thousand livres. Of this he took advantage; he became the nominal purchaser of his master's shares, whose written authority to sell at eight thousand livres he duly registered, and on the instant he sold them at ten thousand livres, clearing half a million of livres, or about twenty thousand pounds, by the transaction. Before his right could be tested, he escaped with the money to another country.

Madame, the mother of the regent, tells several amusing anecdotes of similar changes of fortune. "A lacquey had gained so much by his ventures in the Rue Quincampoix, that he was able to buy a carriage of his own. When the coach was brought to him, he forgot that it was his own, and was getting up behind. His footman exclaimed—'Sir, sir, what are you about? The carriage is your own.'—'O, true enough,' said the lacquey, 'but I had quite forgotten it.'

"Law's coachman, having gained a considerable fortune, demanded his dismissal. His master granted it on condition that he should find another coachman equally good in his place. On the next day, the enriched servant presented himself with two brethren of the whip, whom he declared to be equally good, adding that, if Mr. Law engaged the one, he would hire the other.

"Some women of quality, seeing a lady richly attired and loaded

of the sky. There he designed to plant a city and villages; his investments rapidly amounted to a million and a half of livres; through the company, which he directed, possessing a monopoly of the slave-trade for the French colonies, he had purchased three hundred negroes; merchants from France, and a throng of German emigrants, were engaged in his service, or as his tenants; his commissioners lavished gifts on the tribes, with whom they smoked the calumet. But when, in 1727, a Jesuit priest arrived there, he found only thirty needy Frenchmen, who had been abandoned by their employer, and had no consolation but in the blandness of the climate and the unrivaled fertility of the soil."—Bancroft's *History of the United States.*

with diamonds, but whose person nobody knew, getting out of a handsome carriage, were curious to know who she was, and sent a footman to inquire. On his return, he answered with a sneer—'She is a lady who has tumbled from a garret into a coach!'—She was probably a woman of the same class as Madame Béjou's kitchen-maid. Madame Béjou, having gone one evening to the opera, saw a lady come in of a most vulgar figure, but attired in the richest satin, and wearing a quantity of jewels. Mademoiselle Béjou said to her mother—'Unless I am greatly mistaken, mamma, that lady, so splendidly dressed, is Mary, our kitchen-maid!' 'Hold your tongue, child,' replied the mother; 'do not talk such nonsense.' Some young people who were in the pit, overheard the conversation, and began repeating, 'Mary the kitchen-maid! Mary the kitchen-maid!' Upon which the dame arose, and, in presence of the whole audience, said to Madame Béjou, 'Yes, madame, I am Mary the kitchen-maid; I have gained a fortune in the Rue Quincampoix; I have bought handsome dresses, and, moreover, I have paid for them. Can you say so much for yours?'"

Law, soon finding that his residence in the Rue Quincampoix was unsuited to his increasing business, removed to the Place Vendôme, whither he was followed by the whole crowd of *agioteurs*, or traffickers in shares.* Spacious as that place is, it soon became as thronged as the Rue Quincampoix, and the chancellor, whose court stood on the place, complained that this stock-exchange was a complete nuisance, so that the regent and the Parliament were forced to insist on its removal. Law then purchased the Hotel de Soissons, from the Prince de Carignan, at an enormous price, the prince reserving to himself the extensive and magnificent gar-

* Among the many squibs which appeared at this time, not the least amusing is, "A List of the Chief Dignitaries in the Army of Agio. The general officers were the Duke of Bourbon, generalissimo; the Marshal d'Estrees, general; the Duke of Guiche, commanded the corps de reserve and the auxiliaries; the Duke de Chaulnes and the Marquis de Mézieres were lieutenant-generals; the Prince de Poix, quarter-master; Caumont, major-general; Chattes and Vilaine, aides-de-camp; the Duke d'Antin, intendant; De la Force, treasurer; Laffey, grand provost; the Prince de Leon, secretary; Fimarcon and Dampierre, constables; La Faye, executioner; William Law and André, commissaries; Le Blanc, farrier; the Abbé de Coëtlogon, almoner; the Abbé de Tencin, at the head of the chaplains; Law, quack doctor; D'Argenson, surgeon-major; the Duke de Louvigny and the Count de Guiche, barbers; L'Oemaria, Verüe, Chaumont, Jeffac, Gie, and de Pie, suttlers; marauders and sharpers, the Directors of the Bank; bullies, the officers of the regiment of guards; gazetteer, the Abbé Terrasson."

dens, as a new source of profit. So soon as the bank had been established in this new locality, an edict was published, prohibiting the buying or selling of stock anywhere except in the Hotel de Soissons and the gardens attached to it. Five hundred tents were immediately erected in the gardens, each of which was let at the rate of five hundred livres, or twenty pounds per month, so that from this source alone, the Prince de Carignan, while the delusion lasted, derived a monthly income of ten thousand pounds.

The enormous gains made by the first adventurers created a perfect rage of speculation in all classes of society, but more especially in the highest. The first prince of the blood, the Duc de Bourbon, is reported to have gained two hundred and fifty millions of livres, or about ten millions sterling, on his shares.* Ladies submitted to the most degrading compliances to secure an audience from Law. A duchess was seen to kiss his hand. "Another lady," says Madame, "who pursued him everywhere, learned that he was at the house of Madame de Simiane, and begged to be asked to dine with that lady. Madame de Simiane excused herself, saying that she could not receive any friends that day, as M. Law dined with her. Madame de Bouchu replied, that it was for that very reason she was anxious to be invited. Madame de Simiane repeated, that she could not do anything which might annoy M. Law, and went away. Madame de Bouchu, having found out her friend's dinner hour, drove by the house at the time, and made her coachman and footman raise the cry of fire. All immediately rose from table to inquire where the fire had burst out, and M. Law came out along with the rest. So soon as Madame de Bouchu saw him, she jumped out of her carriage to speak to him. But M. Law, who divined the trick, disappointed the lady and made his escape.

"Another lady ordered her coachman to drive opposite M. Law's hotel, and there overturn the carriage. The coachman was either awkward or slow in effecting this manœuvre, and she shouted to him, 'Overturn me, you scoundrel, overturn me!' He obeyed, a crowd was collected to see the result of the designed accident; M. Law came out to succor the lady, and then she confessed to him that the upset was an artifice contrived for the purpose of obtaining an interview."

Cupidity brought crime in its train; street robberies and assassinations became common. A murder committed by the young Count de Horn, for the purpose of robbery, excited the attention

* Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse, &c.

of all Paris, from the atrocity of the crime and the high rank of the criminal.* Rendered desperate by some losses at the gambling table, he invited a stock-broker to visit him, on pretence of business, and desired him to bring with him a considerable sum in bank notes. Having secured the aid of two accomplices, both of whom ranked as gentlemen, he sprang upon the broker the instant he entered the room, and the three assassins stabbed him to death with daggers, which they had purchased some days before on the Pont Neuf. In the hope of concealing his crime, De Horn went to the commissioner of the quarter, and told him, with a determined and intrepid air, that he had been obliged to kill the broker, who had attacked him and put him in danger of his life. The commissioner, looking fixedly at him, replied, "You are covered with blood, and you are not wounded; these are very suspicious circumstances, and you must not be displeased if I place you under arrest." At this moment, one of the accomplices entered the room, and the count called out, "Stop, sir; here is a gentleman who can testify that what I have told you respecting the assassination, is perfectly correct." At this exclamation, the accomplice lost all presence of mind; he thought that the Count de Horn, under some compunction of conscience, had given information against himself, and under this impression made a full confession, revealing the matter exactly as it had occurred.

One of the accomplices died before he could be arrested; Horn and the other were sentenced to be broken alive upon the wheel. The chief nobles of France and several ladies of rank,† interfered to obtain some mitigation of his sentence. They endeavored to prove that the count was insane; saying that he had an uncle confined in a lunatic asylum, and they demanded that he should be shut up for life as an incurable madman. The regent replied, that

* "The young Count de Horn, who has just been executed here (1720), belonged to a well-known Flemish family. In early youth, he was distinguished by the most amiable qualities of heart and mind. At college, he had been a model of order, of application, and of pure morals. But the acquaintance he made with some profligates while attending the academy of Paris entirely changed his character and habits. He acquired an insatiable passion for gambling. So depraved did he become, that his father used to say to him, 'You will never die but by the hand of the executioner.' When his money was exhausted, he took up the infamous profession of a thief, and stole silver-mounted swords and watches in the pit of the opera." —*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† The young count was only twenty-two years of age, and was one of the handsomest men in Paris.

the interests of society required the removal of madmen who committed crimes. They then represented the infamy which would attach to an illustrious house, connected with many of the reigning families of Europe,* if its representative should be treated as a criminal. The regent replied, that the infamy was in the crime, and not in the punishment. They added, that a portion of the disgrace would attach to the House of Orleans, to which the count was distantly related. "Well, then, gentlemen," he replied, "I will share the disgrace with you."

Law and Dubois, who were deeply interested in the safety of the stock-brokers, by whom the fictitious value of their paper-money was maintained, used all their efforts on this occasion to render the regent inexorable.† They, however, carried their vindictiveness too far. In Flanders, and in Germany, men of rank who committed crimes, were usually beheaded, and the punishment of the wheel was deemed so infamous, that the uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, and the three next generations, were excluded from all dignities and high employments. When his attention was drawn to these results, the regent yielded for a time, and promised to commute the sentence into simple beheading; but Law and Dubois again interfered, and the count‡ and his accomplice were broken on the wheel. All the nobles of Flanders and Germany resented this indignity to their order; but the Parisians, though they had been melted into tears by the sad spectacle of the execution, loudly applauded the rigid justice of the regent.

Robberies and assassinations, however, were not diminished in frequency by this stern example. Madame, the mother of the regent, declares that, in one month, the population of the capital had been increased by a quarter of a million, in consequence of the great influx of strangers; beds were made up for lodgers in garrets, in cellars, and even in stables, and carriages so crowded the streets, which then had no *trottoirs*, that the police found it difficult to provide for the public safety. An immense impetus was given to the production of all kinds of luxuries; laces, silks,

* The Count de Horn was a near relation of the Prince of Orange, and his family was connected with the principal nobles and princes of Flanders and Western Germany.

† The citizens of Paris contributed to maintain his inflexibility. They protested that the pardon of the count would place their lives at the mercy of the nobility. They were not far wrong.

‡ The Prince de Montmorency had procured an interview with the criminal, and offered him a cup of poison to save him from infamy. The Count de Horn turned away his head, and refused to take it. Montmorency having pressed him in vain, turned away, execrating his cowardice.

and velvets were so eagerly sought, that the supply could not keep pace with the demand. Prices consequently rose, and with them the wages of labor. The regent, who was prodigally lavish on his favorites, distributed bank-notes as rewards or bribes, with a profuseness unexampled. Law bought two splendid estates in different parts of France, and in order that religion should be no hindrance to his advancement, allowed himself to be converted to the Catholic faith, by the Abbé Tencin, whose doubts of Law's orthodoxy were all quieted by bank-notes and a liberal allotment of stock. The convert was immediately appointed comptroller-general of France; his son was invited to the king's juvenile ball, and his wife's society was courted by the principal nobility.* In this excitement, no one minded the death of Madame de Maintenon, who expired at the age of eighty-four, in the establishment at St. Cyr, which she had founded. Her death was probably hastened by the misfortunes which had overtaken the Duc de Maine. She was soon followed to the grave by the eccentric and profligate Duchess de Berri, the regent's favorite daughter, whose strange adventures have been noticed in a preceding chapter.

The Mississippi shares, originally issued at five hundred livres, had risen as high as eighteen thousand; but Law was aware that this apparent prosperity rested on a very precarious basis. His first reverse was the consequence of a quarrel with the Prince de Conti.† "The place of comptroller-general which Law held," says St. Simon, "did not secure him from the extortions of the Prince of Conti, more avaricious than any of his family, and what does that not say? He had obtained heaps of money from the regent, and large sums in addition from Law privately. Not content, he wished still to go on; but the regent grew weary of him, and exhibited his dissatisfaction. The Parliament secretly organized a new opposition, and M. de Conti began to take a part in it unworthy of his birth, unsuitable to his age, and disgraceful to his character, after the favors with which he had been loaded.

* "When my son asked for a duchess to accompany his daughter to Genoa, some one who happened to be with him said, 'Sir, if you wish to have a choice of duchesses, send to Madame Law's saloon, you will find them all assembled there.'"—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† "The prince wanted Law to do something or other at the bank, which my son had forbidden. He said to Law, 'Pray, do you not know who I am?' 'Yes, prince,' replied Law, 'otherwise I should not respect you as I do.' The prince said, 'You ought then to obey me.' Law replied, 'I will obey you when you are regent, but not before;' he then went away."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

Repulsed by the regent, he hoped better success from Law. He was deceived in his expectations; prayers, submissions, and compliances —for he hesitated at nothing that could bring him money—having proved ineffectual, he had recourse to threats and menaces. In order to injure the bank, he went thither with three wagons, which he loaded with bullion, in exchange for the paper he presented."

Nothing could have been more injurious to the bank than this manifestation of distrust by one of the princes of the blood. It is true, the regent compelled the prince to send back two-thirds of the coin he had withdrawn, and that Conti's proceeding was generally condemned by the public; but the jobbers and brokers took the alarm, and secretly began to exchange notes for bullion in such small quantities as not to excite suspicion. With this they purchased plate and jewelry, which they exported for safety to England and Holland. One of them had collected gold and silver coin to the amount of a million of livres, which he placed in a cart and covered over with dung; then, disguising himself as a farm-laborer, he drove his precious load undetected across the frontiers, and found means to transport it safely to Amsterdam.

The want of specie began to be felt, and at the same time the prices of the Mississippi shares fell as rapidly as they had risen. This circumstance filled the shareholders with alarm, and gave rise to the strangest scenes in every circle of society. Speculators had bought shares in expectation of a continued rise; but, as they were unable to hold them, they rushed into the market on the first symptom of a fall, and endeavored to realize at any sacrifice.* Law believed that the Mississippi Company and the bank could mutually assist each other; whereupon he ordered that the Mississippi shares should be exchanged for notes at the price of nine

* "M. de Chirac, a celebrated physician, had bought stock at an unlucky period, and was very anxious to sell out. Stock, however, continued to fall for two or three days, much to his alarm. His mind was filled with the subject, when he was suddenly called upon to attend a lady, who imagined herself unwell. He arrived, was shown up stairs, and felt the lady's pulse: 'It falls! it falls! good God! it falls continually!' said he, musingly, while the lady looked up in his face, all anxiety for his opinion. 'Oh! M. de Chirac,' said she, starting to her feet, and ringing the bell for assistance; 'I am dying! I am dying! it falls! it falls! it falls!' 'What falls?' inquired the doctor, in amazement. 'My pulse! my pulse!' said the lady; 'I must be dying.' 'Calm your apprehension, my dear madam,' said M. de Chirac; 'I was speaking of the stocks. The truth is, I have been a great loser, and my mind is so disturbed, I hardly know what I have been saying.'"—Mackay's *Popular Delusions*, vol. i.

thousand livres each. Speculation was at an end when the price of shares had been fixed by royal edict; men hastened to change them for notes, and of course the country was deluged by an over-issue of paper-money. Confidence in the notes diminished as their number increased; it was in vain that Law issued edicts depreciating coin five per cent., and afterwards ten per cent. below paper. Everybody hastened to get rid of the notes; and the purchases of plate for export became so great, that Law issued an edict prohibiting any further manufacture of gold or silver, and proscribing the trade in diamonds and pearls. The holders of notes then sought to invest them in merchandise of different descriptions. The Duc de la Force, an intimate friend of Law's, and who had been one of the first to take the alarm, bought up such a quantity of drugs that he narrowly escaped a prosecution for monopoly.

Law mistook this contagion of fear for a malevolent plot: he therefore hazarded the bold experiment of prohibiting the use of specie altogether. An edict was issued forbidding any person whatever to have more than five hundred livres (about twenty pounds) in his possession under pain of a heavy fine and confiscation of the sum that might be found. Liberal rewards were offered to informers,* and they produced such terror that in one month forty millions of livres (one million six hundred thousand pounds) were brought in coin to the bank. But, in spite of these measures, or, we should rather say, in consequence of them, the embarrassment of the finances became greater every day. The time for paying the interest on the state bonds was at hand; money could not be had; and in this dilemma the regent published an edict, on the 17th of April, reducing the rate of interest from five to two per cent. The Parliament protested against such a profligate robbery of the public creditor; but its remonstrances were unheeded. On the 21st of May, an edict was issued, ordaining that the value of shares and notes should be depreciated month by month until, at the close of the year, they should be reduced to half their existing rates. The price of paper-money was falling of its own accord; but still the public was justly indignant at finding it depreciated by the very government which had issued it.

* Lord Stair said sarcastically that it was impossible to doubt the sincerity of Law's conversion to the Catholic religion, since he had established the *Inquisition* after having given abundant proof of his belief in *transubstantiation* by turning so much gold into paper. This was not very grateful of Lord Stair, for he had gained three millions (one hundred and twenty thousand pounds) by trafficking in Mississippi bonds on their first issue.

The Parliament assembled, and resolved to proceed in person to demand justice of the king.* A deputation was sent to remonstrate with the regent; several who were highest in his confidence assured him that this edict could not be maintained without incurring the danger of a general insurrection. Menacing anonymous letters made a similar announcement in unmistakable language, and the edict was revoked. But it was impossible to destroy the impression it had produced. The credit of the bank, and of all the bubble companies connected with it, was irretrievably ruined, and every one perceived that a national bankruptcy was impending.

The Duc de Bourbon, quitting his magnificent palace at Chantilly, came to Paris with the avowed purpose of impeaching Law; but a seasonable bribe of four millions—three millions of which went to the duke, and one million to his mistress, Madame de Prie—made a sudden change in his intentions, and he became a warm supporter of the unfortunate financier. Dubois urged the regent to place Law under arrest, and it is to the credit of Philip of Orleans that he rejected this unjust advice: he gave Law a company of Swiss guards for his protection; but, with his usual double dealing, allowed it to be believed that the troops were sent to prevent his secret escape. Even the cautious D'Argenson was deceived by this avowal: he declared openly against Law, who was forced to resign his office of comptroller-general.†

Law's influence, however, was not at an end; he induced the regent to recall D'Aguesseau to the chancellorship; on learning which, D'Argenson at once resigned the seals, and refused to have any further connection with the ministry. He took the strange resolution of shutting himself up in the Convent of the Madeleine, with the prioress of which, Madame de Velmont, he had formed a most tender friendship, and for whom, as some believed, he entertained a very warm passion. It was not a little scandalous to

* At this period of history, the Memoirs of Villars are more minute and accurate than those of Dangeau and St. Simon. Our text, therefore, is all but literally translated from the narrative of the brave old marshal; he was almost the only man in France whose hands remained clean during this melancholy period of cupidity and corruption.

† "My son has been obliged to dismiss Law; this man, whom people used to adore as a God, is no longer sure of his life, and is in an incredible agony of terror. He is no longer comptroller-general, but he remains director-general of the bank and of the East India Company. However, some members of Parliament have been appointed to superintend his management of the bank. His good friend, the Duc d'Antin, has applied for the post of director."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

see the head of the law spending two days a week in a nunnery; and it was still worse to find such a place chosen as a refuge by an ex-minister; but no objection was made to it by the regent. The Parliament was not conciliated by the restoration of D'Aguesseau; it was now supported by the Prince de Conti;* and, having thus gained fresh strength, it refused to register any financial edicts. Though registration had not been necessary to the validity of ordinances since the bed of justice held two years before, Law and his cabal were well aware that the opposition of the Parliament greatly injured the credit of his schemes; he therefore induced the regent to exile the Parliament, first to Pontoise and afterwards to Blois. D'Aguesseau's concurrence in these harsh measures was an irreparable injury to his reputation. Immediately afterwards, an edict was issued for the total suspension of cash payments. Notes were at once depreciated seventy-two per cent., and shares almost ceased to bear even a nominal value. The general ruin involved by this crash may be appreciated when we learn that the amount of notes in circulation represented two thousand seven hundred millions of livres (one hundred and eighty-eight million pounds English), of which twelve hundred millions of livres (forty-eight millions sterling), had been issued illegally, but had been authenticated by edicts antedated by the regent.

Villars and a large party in the council of regency insisted that Law should be arrested and brought to trial; but the Duke of Orleans felt too keenly that he was himself the chief cause of the ruin of the unfortunate financier. He sent for him, and had a long conversation with him on the dangers he encountered by remaining in France, and recommended that he should withdraw from the kingdom as privately as possible. Law was very anxious to take this advice: his life had been threatened by the mob; his courage broken to atoms; and he would have been torn to pieces, could he have been found.† On the 29th of December, he quitted

* "It is a blessing for us that the Prince de Conti is such a poltroon, otherwise he would give my son much trouble. Some short time ago, my son said to the princess that he had been informed that her husband cabaled against him. She replied: 'But monsieur, what do you want him to do? He likes to be talked about, and this is the only means of attaining his end that he can discover. Without some such recourse, who would ever think of mentioning his name?'"—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

† When intelligence of this outrage was brought to the Parliament, all the members rose simultaneously and expressed their joy by a loud cheer. The president was so enthusiastic that he gave vent to his feelings in rhyme, exclaiming:—

"Messieurs! messieurs! bonne nouvelle!
Le carosse de Law est reduit en canelle!"

Paris, under pretence of visiting one of his country-seats, crossed the frontier, and arrived safely at Brussels.* He entertained a hope that he would be again recalled to Paris, and for some years kept up an active correspondence with the regent; but the hatred of the French people was too intense to be overcome; he wandered over Europe, supporting himself by his gains at the gaming-table. He died at Venice in 1729, in very embarrassed circumstances. A commission was appointed to revise the claims of the creditors of the state, and a new tribunal was created to inquire into the late financial malversations; both acted with the most capricious injustice; but they enforced a reduction of the debt, which was in fact equivalent to an act of national bankruptcy.

In the midst of this financial confusion, a terrible pestilence devastated the south of France. In May, 1720, the plague was brought to Marseilles by a vessel from the Levant. Its progress at first was slow, but as the summer advanced, the mortality arose to an alarming height. All the wealthy and influential fled from the devoted city; the Parliament and the governor of the province set the example; the superintendents abandoned the lazaretto; the courts of justice were closed, because there were no judges; police officers and custom-house officers disappeared; the provost and four aldermen remained almost alone, with only one thousand one hundred livres (about forty-five pounds) in the municipal chest, surrounded by a population without labor, without restraint, and without subsistence. They had to struggle incessantly amid the most frightful dangers, against the disorders which daily occurred in a city abandoned to pestilence, famine, and despair, where the living were scarcely able to bury the dead. "Marseilles' good bishop," Belzunce, son of a sister of the Duc de Lauzun, nobly performed his duty at this terrible crisis. He had long been a Jesuit, and was one of the most narrow-minded bigots in France;† but his devotedness and charity at this terrible crisis

* "Law has retired to Brussels. Madame de Prie lent him her traveling carriage; when he sent it back, Law wrote the lady a letter of thanks, and inclosed in it a diamond ring worth one hundred thousand livres. Monseur the Duke (of Bourbon) furnished him with relays, and sent four of his servants to protect him. When he was taking leave of my son, Law said, 'Monseigneur, I have committed some grave faults; I have done so, because I am but a man and subject to human error; you will, however, find no fraud or trickery in my conduct.' His wife will not quit Paris till she has paid their debts. He owes ten thousand livres to his pastryeook alone."—*Mémoires de Madame, &c.*

† On the first appearance of the plague, he published a pastoral letter, in which he asserted that the pestilence was a visitation of Providence to

were above all praise. With heroic courage he visited the dying and the dead; sold all his goods to feed the poor, and roused all the clergy, both secular and regular, to follow his example. The regent made every possible exertion to relieve the perishing population of Languedoc; but Dubois exhibited one of the most odious traits of selfishness recorded in history. Clement XI. loaded three vessels with grain for the relief of Marseilles: Dubois, believing that such a boon would lower the reputation of his ministry, ordered his envoy at Rome to prevent the ships from sailing. They sailed in spite of him, and were taken at sea by an Algerine corsair; but, when the Mussulman learned their pious destination, he allowed them to pursue their voyage in safety. Finally, they reached Marseilles, where the cargoes were sold under the direction of the bishop, and the proceeds distributed to the poor.

The mortality was at its height in August. As the autumn advanced, the intensity of the disease disappeared, and at the beginning of 1721 its ravages had entirely ceased, after it had swept away ninety thousand persons, four thousand of whom died in a single day. It was remarked, that this terrible visitation left a moral plague behind it: the survivors in Marseilles, Toulon, and Azles became of a sudden remarkable for the most reckless and dissolute manners; the inheritances of the dead had raised many to sudden wealth, and they could not resist the intoxication of the double joy produced by their recent escape and their unexpected prosperity. Thucydides declares that similar results followed the cessation of the great plague at Athens.

The downfall of Law's system was hailed by a multitude of lampoons, libels, and caricatures, which were republished in the principal cities of Europe as fast as they appeared in Paris.*

punish France for having resisted the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus*, and its ecclesiastical constitutions.

* The best of the songs written on Law is preserved in the Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans. As it would be impossible to preserve its peculiar characteristics in a translation, we quote it in the original:—

Aussitot que Law arriva
Dans notre bonne ville,
Monsieur le regent publia,
Qu'il serait fort utile
Pour retablir la nation,
La faridondaine, la faridondon;
Mais il nous a tous enrichés,
Biribi,
A la façon de barbari,
Mon ami.

Many of these possess great merit, but nearly all are tainted with the grossness which characterized the age. No one took the trouble of examining Law's system, which in truth rested originally on a sound basis, and crumbled to ruin simply because it had been pushed to an extravagant excess. If Law had not extended his issues beyond all possibility of convertibility, his bank would have been a national blessing. The French had to blame themselves for the insanity of their speculations in Mississippi stock; similar *manias* have appeared so often in England, that we can easily understand their phenomena; but no one has ever laid the blame of such follies upon the administration, or demanded that they should be avenged by impeaching the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Ce parpaillot, pour attirer
Tout l'argent de la France,
Songea d'abord à s'assurer
De notre confiance;
Il fit son abjuration,
La faridondaine, la faridondon,
Mais le fourbe s'est converti,
Biribi,
A la façon de barbari,
Mon ami.

Jamais de si barbares lois
N'ont gouverné les hommes;
Qu'il est facheux d'être François,
Dans le temps où nous sommes!
Tout est ici confusion,
La faridondaine, la faridondon;
Chaque jour un nouvel édit,
Biribi,
A la façon de barbari,
Mon ami.

Law, le fils ainé de Satan,
Nous met tous à l'aumone;
Il nous a pris tout notre argent,
Et n'en rend à personne,
Mais le regent, humain et bon,
La faridondaine, la faridondon,
Nous revend ce qu'on nous a pris,
Biribi,
A la façon de barbari,
Mon ami.

CHAPTER XX.

DUBOIS.—HIS EARLIER POLICY.—ASPIRES TO A CARDINALSHIP.—ARCHBISHOPRIC OF CAMBRIA VACANT.—EFFORTS OF DUBOIS TO ATTAIN IT.—HIS SUCCESS.—HIS CONCESSIONS TO GEORGE I. OF ENGLAND.—HIS FRIENDS AT THE COURT OF ROME.—SUIT OF POPE CLEMENT XI.—RAGE OF DUBOIS.—PLAN OF LAFITAU.—THE ABBE DE TENCIN.—DUBOIS MADE A CARDINAL.—HIS CHANGE OF LIFE.—HIS JOURNAL.—HE VISITS MADAME.—HIS TACT.—PROPOSED MARRIAGE OF LOUIS XV.—TWO OTHER PROJECTED ROYAL MARRIAGES.—CONFLAGRATION AT THE CHATELET.—ILLNESS OF THE KING.—RUMORS AS TO ITS CAUSE.—MARSHAL VILLEROY.—HIS VIOLENCE AND ARREST.—EPIGRAM ON THE LATTER CIRCUMSTANCE.—LE BLANC AND BELLISLE.—STORY OF MADAME DE PLEINCEUF AND HER DAUGHTER.—THE GOVERNESS AND DUBOIS.—THE LATTER AND HIS CLUBS.—CORONATION OF LOUIS XV.—CONGRATULATIONS AT VERSAILLES.—SPEECHES OF LOUIS XV. AND THE REGENT.—MORAL TRIUMPH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

DUBOIS consecrated his entire life to the regent. He had adopted and developed all his plans from the period of his secret mission to Spain, on the accession of Philip V., to the completion of the great treaty of the quadruple alliance: furthermore, it was to the skill and firmness of Dubois that the regent was indebted for the triumph of his system in Spain, the fall of Alberoni, and the adhesion of Philip V. to the arrangements dictated by the allies. In the internal administration of the monarchy, the services of Dubois were not less signal; it was he who urged the duke of Orleans to adopt all those measures which gave force and unity to his government. He broke down the obstinate resistance of the parliaments; he crushed the Spanish party in France; he disconcerted all the intrigues of the Duchess of Maine, and he had ended by centralizing in the ministry the influence which had previously been divided between several councils, and by those means had created a political system as powerful and definite as that of Louis XIV., which he had overthrown. On the vexed question of the bull *Unigenitus*, Dubois had early detected a dangerous tendency in the doctrines of the Jansenists; their opposition to the authority of the pope was attended with a spirit

of insubordination to the state, and too close an alliance with that party was consequently inconsistent with the regent's notion of a strong government. Philip of Orleans alone knew the importance of these services. Hence he defended Dubois against the hatred of his mother, the rivalry of Saint Simon, and the more just indignation of those who were disgusted by the Abbé's vices.

Dubois aspired to the cardinalship; it was the only dignity which could cure his ignoble birth,* for Catholicism levels all ranks, and ecclesiastical dignities take precedence of temporal nobility. Alberoni, whose origin was as mean as that of Dubois, had governed the Spanish dominions in both hemispheres without any shock to diplomatic pride. Dubois had stronger claims to be premier of France; but the cardinalship could alone justify the regent in setting his favorite above the haughty aristocracy.†

The cardinalship could only be obtained at Rome. The ambassador of France at the papal court was Cardinal de Rohan, a diplomatist of great skill, and exercising considerable influence in consequence of the extensive connections of the princely family of Soubise, from which he was descended. The ambassador informed Dubois that Father Lafiteau, afterwards Bishop of Sisteron, was the person of most influence in the councils of Clement XI. With him the negotiation was commenced; and it was laid down as a preliminary condition, that France should give a complete adhesion to the authority of Rome and the unity of the Catholic faith. Thus, Jansenism was about to be abandoned for Jesuitism, and an entire system of ecclesiastical policy changed to gratify the ambition of Dubois.

The archbishopric of Cambrai became vacant by the death of the Cardinal de la Tremville at Rome. It was the richest see in

* A whole volley of epigrams was fired off when it was known that Dubois was seeking a cardinalship. The following may serve as a specimen:—

"The purple of Rome is about to be stained
With more shame than the world ever saw;
For a cardinal's robes, desecrated, profaned,
Are about to encircle Dubois.
A beggarly pedant, of beggarly stock,
Who learning pursued as a trade,
Is deemed wood good enough to supply us the block
From which cabinet-rulers are made."

† Devoted as he was to the cause of the regent, we find Saint Simon continually complaining of the elevation of a mere *parvenu*, such as Dubois.

France, having an annual income of a hundred and fifty thousand livres, and it was likewise a great step towards the coveted cardinalship. Dubois, who had only received the tonsure and was not in holy orders, resolved to obtain the appointment; but, in spite of his ascendency over the regent, he did not venture to make such a request in direct terms. He told the regent that he had had a very pleasant dream. "What was it?"—"I dreamed that I had been appointed Archbishop of Cambrai." The regent, perceiving whither the conversation tended, turned on his heel and made no reply. Dubois was at first rather embarrassed, and gave several paraphrases of his pretended dream, but at length mustering courage he bluntly asked why such a favor should be refused him, and wherefore his royal highness should hesitate about making the fortune of so devoted and faithful a servant. Unscrupulous as Philip of Orleans was, he shrank from the scandal of such an appointment, and in a contemptuous tone exclaimed, "What, *you* Archbishop of Cambrai!" Dubois had gone too far to recede; he urged the regent more closely, obviated all his objections, and reduced him to a ludicrous state of indecisive perplexity.

At length, the regent seemed to have discovered a means of escape. "But you are not ordained," said he; "and what prelate is there on earth who would admit you to holy orders?"—"Oh, if that is the only obstacle," replied Dubois, "the matter is settled; I know the man who will ordain me, and he is not far from this spot."—"And who the deuce is the man that would dare to ordain you?" cried the regent.—"If you assure me this is the only obstacle, I will tell you."—"Well, who then?"—"Your first almoner, who is outside; he will desire no better sport; I will go and speak to him about it." Dubois then knelt, kissed the regent's hand as if everything had been settled, went into the antechamber, found the Bishop of Nantes, told him of his success, obtained from him a promise of ordination, and then, returning to the regent, acquainted him that all the necessary preliminaries were completed. Philip of Orleans was completely entrapped, and made no further difficulty, but signed and sealed the usual patent.

The Cardinal de Noailles was more obstinate. He refused to give Dubois letters demissory; but Pontoise, whither the Parliament had been exiled, was in the province of Rouen, and Dubois found its archbishop, Besson, far more tractable than the Cardinal de Noailles. Having obtained these letters, and a dispensation from Rome, Dubois received on the same day the three orders

of sub-deacon, deacon, and priest, from the Bishop of Nantes, who was bribed to this indecent irregularity by a promise of the next vacant archbishopric, which he soon after obtained. Having completed his business, Dubois returned to Paris in time to attend a meeting of the council, where his rapid ordination had excited no small discontent. The Prince of Conti took upon him to lecture Dubois for such an ecclesiastical scandal. The neophyte heard him to the end with great temper, and then coolly replied, that the irregularity was not unparalleled, for that a precedent had been established in the case of St. Ambrose! The daring impiety of such an implied parallel shocked even the profligate court of the regent.

As if further to defy public opinion, the ceremonial of consecration was celebrated with a magnificence previously unknown in France. The officiating prelates were the Cardinal de Rohan; the Bishop of Nantes, who had already proved so complaisant in the matter of ordination; and the celebrated Massillon, then Bishop of Clermont, whose consent to take part in such a ceremony is the worst stain on his otherwise irreproachable character, preached the consecration sermon. The regent, the principal officers of state, and all the royal household were present, and the solemnities of the day were concluded by a splendid dinner at the Palais Royal.

Successful in his first object, Dubois exerted himself still more strenuously to obtain the cardinalship. George I. had great influence over the emperor, and that potentate had a decided authority in the councils of Rome. To gain the favor of the English monarch, Dubois consented to banish all the Jacobite refugees from France, including those members of Queen Anne's Tory administration, who had been most active, at the risk of their heads, in effecting the treaty of Utrecht, by which France had been saved from utter ruin. He then exerted himself to procure the acceptance of the bull *Unigenitus*; which the Parliament, wearied of exile at Pontoise, consented to register on the 4th of December; and on the 16th of the same month they returned to the capital.

The emperor, the regent, Philip of Spain, and the Duke of Parma, all advocated the cause of Dubois at the court of Rome; but, as Clement XI. was still inflexible, the poor pretender was induced, by the offer of a pension, to join in the solicitation. This gave the pope an opportunity of playing Dubois a masterly trick, which, even on the verge of the grave, had resistless temptations for the malicious pontiff. He delivered to Lafitau a

document, in which he declared that, at the earnest solicitation of James III., lawful King of England, he had resolved to confer the next vacant cardinalship on the Archbishop of Cambrai. Dubois was perfectly furious;* he could not accept such a promise without compromising the entire policy of the regency, and proclaiming himself an enemy to the Hanoverian succession, with which that policy had been so closely identified. The death of the pope relieved him from this perplexity, but it compelled him to begin a new series of intrigues to obtain the coveted cardinalship.

Lafitau advised the buying up of the conclave, so as to insure the election of a pope pledged to the elevation of Dubois. Cardinal de Rohan was charged with the superintendence of this bribery, and he was aided by an associate who had given ample proof that he was not likely to be withheld by any conscientious scruples. This person was the Abbé de Tencin, the priest by whom Law had been received into the Catholic Church, and who, on that occasion, had received bank-notes as conclusive evidence of orthodoxy. Just before Tencin started, he was accused of simony by the Abbé de Vesières. The case was tried in full Parliament, the Prince de Conti and several peers being present. Tencin, observing that the advocate opposed to him faltered a little, offered to purge himself of the charge on oath. "Do not give yourself that trouble," said the advocate; "here is a document decisive of the case, which I require to have read." It was the original bargain for the sale of the benefice, signed with the Abbé de Tencin's own hand. An uproar of groans and hisses showed the indignation of the court at this barefaced attempt to cover a flagrant act of simony by equally flagrant perjury. Tencin endeavored to escape, but the door was barred against him, and he had to endure a most bitter admonition from the president of the court, for he condemned him to the payment of a heavy fine. This scandalous scene made no change in the arrangements of Dubois, and Tencin quitted the scene of his proffered perjury to set out for Rome and make a pope.

Bribes were lavishly distributed, and the influence successfully exerted. Cardinal Conti, who had given a written promise that

* He wrote to the Bishop of Sisteron, "Truly the engagement you have obtained from the pope is a master-piece; had Discord herself framed it, she could not have devised anything worse. The regent is insulted, the pretender compromised, and I am covered in the eyes of Europe with ridicule and insinuations of treason. My only wish is that the document should not be seen by anybody, and that it may at once sink into oblivion."

he would create Dubois a cardinal, was elected by the conclave, and took the name of Innocent XIII. But the new pope was in no hurry to perform his promise: he appointed his brother a cardinal, and took no notice of Dubois. In spite of the ruinous condition of the French finances, fresh sums were raised and lavishly expended, until, at length, the appointment was formally announced, July 16, 1721.

Cardinal Dubois abandoned many of the depraved habits in which, while an abbé, he had indulged. Placed at the head of the state, he became a most assiduous and methodical man of business;*

* This change in the character and conduct of Dubois has been unfairly passed over by most historians. As an act of justice, we publish the curious document in which he arranged the distribution of his time, under the title of

JOURNAL OF HIS EMINENCE.

"Every day, from five until seven, the opening of the packets, expediting of the letters, petitions, and memorials of the day before to the different *bureaux*, and answers to private letters; seven to eight, arrangement of portfolios, dressing and arrangement of the king; eight to a quarter before nine, the king's levee.

"Sunday.—A quarter before nine, waiting on his royal highness with the ministers and those who were sent for; half-past ten, instruction of the king; eleven, the royal mass; half-past eleven, public audience; half-past three, private audience of his royal highness; five o'clock, report of his eminence's first clerks; six, the secretary of state for war; seven, the comptroller-general.

"Monday.—A quarter before nine, waiting on his royal highness with ministers and persons sent for: ten, the signing of dispatches for Holland, Germany, and the north, in the inner cabinet of his royal highness; half-past ten, instructing of the king; eleven, audience of the lieutenant of police in the apartments of his royal highness, or of his eminence; half-past eleven, council of conscience; three, waiting on his royal highness with the court of Toulouse, and then private audience with his royal highness; five, M. Couturier, preparation of the next day's reports for his royal highness; six, the lieutenant of police; seven, the comptroller-general, and the intendants of finances, who have been sent for.

"Tuesday.—A quarter before nine, signature of dispatches for Italy, Spain, and Portugal, in his eminence's apartments; half-past nine, report of the first clerks to his eminence; half-past ten, instruction of the king; eleven, waiting on his royal highness with persons sent for; half-past eleven, council of finances before the king; three, waiting on his royal highness with M. Couturier, the keeper of the seals, and the secretaries of state charged to prepare the next day's reports to his royal highness; five, the secretary of state for war; six, the comptroller-general.

"Wednesday.—From nine until dinner, audience of ambassadors and foreign ministers; three, continuation of the audience, or conversation with the ambassadors; four, journal of audiences, and consequent preparations;

assuming a decency of manners and gravity of demeanor which quite disconcerted his enemies. At the same time, he adopted the policy and passions of the court of Rome, to which at the outset he had made the most resolute opposition. The regent was as much gratified by his favorite's success as Dubois himself. He presented the new cardinal to the young king, saying, "Sire, I present to you the Archbishop of Cambrai, to whose zeal your majesty is indebted for the tranquillity of the state and the peace of the church of France, which but for him would have been disturbed by a cruel schism. The pope, in grateful recognition of his services, has sent him a cardinal's hat." The young king smiled on Dubois, and said, "I am much gratified at the pope having chosen a prelate who has performed such eminent services."

Dubois displayed great tact in his visit of ceremony to Madame. She had never forgiven him his share in the marriage of her son to an illegitimate lady, even though that lady was a daughter of "the great king." She had obtained a promise from her son that he would never employ Dubois, and when that promise was broken, she continued to press upon the regent the scandals which the ostentatious profligacy of his minister brought upon his government. Etiquette obliged her to receive the new cardinal, but she prepared to go through the ceremony with a very bad grace. The tact of Dubois disconcerted her: when he advanced to salute

five, private audience with his royal highness; half-past six, instruction of the king; seven, the comptroller-general and persons sent for.

"Thursday.—A quarter before nine, waiting on his royal highness with ministers and persons sent for; half-past ten, instruction of the king; eleven, audience to ministers previous to their departure for Paris; twelve, public audience; three, report of first clerks to his eminence; five, order and preparation of dispatches for England, Holland, Germany, and the north; seven, audience to persons sent for.

"Friday.—A quarter before nine, signature at his eminence's apartments of dispatches for Italy, Spain, and Portugal; half-past nine, report of first clerks to his eminence; eleven, expeditious signature and business with the clerks sent for by his eminence; three, M. Couturier, to prepare next day's report to his eminence; four, audience to persons sent for; five, perusal of letters from Italy, and orders in consequence.

"Saturday.—A quarter before nine, waiting on his royal highness with ministers and persons sent for; half-past ten, instruction of the king; eleven, waiting on his royal highness with persons sent for; half-past eleven, council of dispatches before the king; three, waiting on his royal highness with M. Couturier; five, the reading of letters from Spain and Portugal, and orders in consequence; six, the comptroller-general; seven, the secretary of state for war."—MSS.

her, he almost threw himself at her feet; he then took his seat in the circle, put on his red hat, but immediately uncovering, addressed her in a vein of apt and happy compliment. He began by expressing his surprise at finding himself in the presence of Madame in such an elevated position: he alluded to the meanness of his birth, and the humble nature of his early employments, and declared that he owed his rise to the patronage of the House of Orleans, and particularly to the friendship of the regent. He protested that the devotion of his life would be insufficient to repay such services; and then delicately insinuated that the regent was indebted for his statesmanlike qualities to the early training of Madame. All her indignation, if not overcome, was silenced; and when Dubois quitted the apartment, she could not avoid bearing reluctant testimony to his tact and ability.

Admitted as a cardinal to the council of regency, Dubois insisted on taking precedence of the chancellor and all the nobility. This created some confusion. D'Aguesseau and the Duc de Villeroy openly protested against taking their places below the son of a country apothecary, and several of the nobility prepared to join them; but the regent, in the name of the king, declared that the privileges of the church must be respected, and that these placed cardinals above all temporal dignities.

Pardons were granted to those who had taken part in the conspiracy of Cellamare, and the insurrection of Brittany, on condition of their making full confession; but as the disaffected still had some hopes from Spain, Dubois contemplated a master-stroke of policy, whereby Philip V. might be reconciled to the regent. By a secret treaty, all the places taken during the war were restored. A fresh treaty was signed between Spain, France, and England, in which new privileges were conceded to the English trade with Spanish America, and Philip V. was reconciled to this sacrifice by obtaining some strong places in the Pyrenees.

These were only preparatory to his great scheme. He proposed the marriage of Louis XV., then twelve years of age, with the Spanish Infanta, so soon as she attained maturity, for she was at the time only three years old. But this marriage, which gratified every feeling of Philip V., was dependent on a second marriage,—that of the Prince of the Asturias, fourteen years of age, with Mademoiselle de Montpensier, fourth daughter of the regent, who was barely twelve years old. Thus, more than a hundred years ago, the destinies of the House of Orleans turned on a Montpensier marriage. Some months later, a third marriage was projected, between the Prince Don Carlos, the son of Philip, by

his second wife, for whom his mother was prepared to demand the inheritance of her family in Italy, and Mademoiselle de Beaujolais. The Duc de Saint Simon, much to the annoyance of Dubois, was selected by the regent to negotiate these marriages; but the cardinal took his revenge by compelling the ambassador to maintain an extraordinary pomp, which seriously impaired his fortune.

When the proposed marriages were announced in the council of regency, there was not a single member that did not loudly applaud the long-desired reconciliation between France and Spain. Still, some disquietude was felt at the disproportion between the age of the king and his destined bride; and the old distrust of the regent was revived. It was whispered that he had selected an infant queen to increase the chances of an Orleans dynasty inheriting the throne of France. Instead of the king having an heir in six or seven years, the proposed marriage would compel him to wait twelve or fifteen years; and, during that period, accident or crime might destroy his feeble life.

These rumors were aggravated by public disasters. The old wooden bridge at the Chatelêt, which was covered with a mass of sheds and houses densely inhabited, took fire and was consumed before any efforts could be made to check the conflagration. Many lives were lost; the Seine was covered with the bodies of women and children; and the exertions of the municipal authorities were insufficient to check the outrages perpetrated by robbers during this period of confusion. A still more terrible conflagration took place in Rennes. The city was almost entirely destroyed; malicious rumors averred that it had been fired by order of the regent, to punish the rebellious tendencies of the people of Brittany.

Suspicion was changed into alarm when it was announced that the king was suddenly and dangerously ill. He had overheated himself in the park at Meudon; had exposed himself to a chill, and was attacked by fever and sore throat. The dukes hastened to visit the royal patient; St. Simon was one of the first; and as he stood by the bedside, the Duchess de la Fertè (sister to the Duchess de Ventadour, who had been the king's gouvernante) approached him, and pointing to the king, said in a loud whisper, "He is poisoned! he is poisoned!" It was with some difficulty that this injudicious lady was prevented from communicating her groundless suspicions to the king. All the physicians were in despair. Chirac, physician to the household, declared that he knew of no remedy appropriate to the case; but at length, a

young physician named Helvetius, proposed that his majesty should be bled in the soles of the feet. The experiment was hazarded and proved perfectly successful. Louis XV. speedily recovered, and was restored to the prayers of his faithful people.

So inveterate were the prejudices against the Duke of Orleans, that the king's escape was universally attributed to the vigilance of the Marshal de Villeroy; and countless songs in praise of his loyal devotion were sung in the streets.* Villeroy made the most of the opportunity to impress a general belief of his zeal and fidelity. He escorted the king to Notre Dame and Sainte Genevieve, where thanksgivings for his recovery were offered with unusual solemnity. He proclaimed that, on the evening of the festival of St. Louis, the king would show himself at the windows of the Tuileries, and witness the spectacles and fireworks displayed on the occasion. Louis XV., who was shy and awkward, by no means relished this publicity, and was with difficulty induced to present himself to the dense crowds in the Place du Carousel and the gardens of the Tuileries.†

Dubois hated and feared Villeroy, believing that he would influence the king to deprive him of his office so soon as his majesty had attained his majority. The marshal had rendered himself equally insupportable to the regent by his parade of superfluous and invidious precautions against the dangers by which he pretended that the life of Louis was menaced. One day he filled the court with complaints because the king had eaten a biscuit which had not been taken from the closet of which Villeroy ostentatiously kept the key. On another occasion, the use of a handkerchief not taken from the wardrobe which Villeroy similarly guarded, gave occasion for a like scene of scandal and confusion. Such extravagances could only be endured in an old man of

* None of them are worth translating; one is, however, remarkable for its *refrain*, which is,

"*Lampions, Lampions,*
Camarades, Lampions;"

a *refrain* also adopted by the Parisians in the popular songs of the late Revolution.

† "The crowd shouted *Vive le Roi!* whenever he appeared, and the marshal detaining him, for he wished always to retire and hide himself, said: '*See*, my master, all this crowd and all these people; they all belong to you, you are their lord and master; satisfy them by looking at them, since they all belong to you!'—A fine lesson for a governor to give! He repeated it every time he brought the king to the window, for fear it should be forgotten. It was remembered but too well."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxxv.

eighty, whose age gave ground for the hope of a speedy deliverance from the inconveniences produced by his temper.*

Dubois, wishing to obtain Villeroy's support, sought an interview with him through Cardinal de Bissy, who found the marshal apparently as anxious for a reconciliation as the minister. Bissy brought Villeroy to the levee of Dubois: the three entered into a private cabinet. The marshal and the minister exchanged many mutual compliments, and then began a series of friendly explanations. But explanations are frequently very awkward matters. Villeroy began to lose his temper, and was the more aggravated that Dubois remained perfectly calm and impassive. At length the marshal gave full vent to his passions: he heaped upon Dubois the most cutting invectives and bitter reproaches, declared that he never could be on terms with such a wretch, and ended by exclaiming, "Arrest me, if you dare!"

Some days elapsed; nothing was said of this scandalous scene; and Villeroy, believing that he had triumphed, ventured on a still more flagrant violation of decency. On the evening of the 12th of August, the regent paid his usual visit to the king, and after some conversation asked his majesty to accompany him into a private closet, as he wished to converse with him on some matters of secrecy and importance. Villeroy at once opposed the proposal. The regent with great temper said that, as the king had so nearly attained his legal majority, it was quite proper that he, the administrator of the kingdom, should have an opportunity of conversing with his majesty on matters which could not safely be discussed in the presence of a third person. The marshal replied, with great warmth, that he alone was responsible for the personal safety of the young king; that he could not permit any proposals to be made to him which his governor was not allowed to hear, much less in a room where his ward would be out of his sight, and where he could not answer for his safety. Philip of Orleans was for a moment kept silent by surprise; but then assuming the tone of a master, he told Villeroy that he had forgotten himself and the rank of the person to whom he was speaking; but that no altercation was allowable in the presence of the king. He then respectfully saluted Louis and withdrew.

It was justly anticipated that Villeroy, on cool reflection, would become alarmed, and would tender an apology to the Duke of

* "So popular was Villeroy with the mob, that when he was laid up with the gout, *les dames des halles* sent a deputation to visit him in bed, and inquire after his health."—*St. Simon*, vol. xxxv.

Orleans on the following morning: accordingly, preparations for his visit were made with great secrecy. He arrived about noon, with his usual noise and bustle, but alone, having left his carriage and servants outside the gate. When he entered the ante-room, he demanded to be immediately admitted to the regent; and being told that he was engaged, repeated the demand in a louder tone, and advanced, as if to force an entrance. A captain of the guards then presented himself, demanded his sword, and placed him under arrest. Villeroy was furious; but in an instant he was forced into a sedan-chair, carried across the garden, placed in a traveling-chariot kept ready for the purpose, and hurried off to his country seat under a strong escort.*

Louis XV. felt deeply grieved at the exile of his governor, to whom he believed that he had been indebted for the preservation of his life; and his sorrow became clamorous when he learned that his beloved preceptor, the Bishop of Frejus, had secretly withdrawn from court in consequence. The bishop, however, was easily induced to return, and Louis was so delighted at seeing him again, that he made no objection to receiving the Duc de Charost as his new governor. About the same time, he removed from Paris to Versailles, a change which gave great offence to the Parisians, and revived old suspicions and scandals. But ambition was no longer a passion of the regent: he had exhausted all his powers of mind and body in dissipation. The government of the state devolved on Dubois, and in the August of 1722 he was appointed prime minister, believing that he had before him such a career as Richelieu† or Mazarin.

Dubois had as much jealousy as ambition. He exerted himself to exclude every person of virtue, talent, or influence from the presence of the regent, he procured the dismissal of nearly all his early friends, and even used unfair means to destroy his own creatures when they seemed to grow too powerful. Amongst those

* The exile of Villeroy produced so deep an impression, that Dubois deemed it necessary to issue a manifesto to explain it. Several epigrams and lampoons were produced on the occasion. We quote one, the peculiar point of which renders it untranslatable:—

"Villeroi, ton exil met le comble a nos maux:
Quand pour les soulager on demande aux echoes,
Qui plaindrons nous le plus, l'Etat ou Villeroi?
De leur mourant voix, ils respondent *Le Roi!*"

† In imitation of Cardinal Richelieu, he had caused himself to be elected a member of the academy, and affected to patronize men of letters. Voltaire enrolled himself in the ranks of his flatterers, and addressed an ode to him, full of the most exaggerated compliments on his statesmanship.

who incurred his suspicions were Le Blanc, one of the secretaries of state, and Bellisle, who held an important office in the finance department. The means taken for the overthrow of these supposed rivals are connected with an extraordinary episode, too characteristic of the age to be omitted.

Among the rich financiers of Paris, M. de Pleinœuf held a leading place. He was connected with the Bertholet family, all the members of which were engaged in various departments of the money trade, and had contributed to the elevation and aggrandizement of each other by always acting in concert. Pleinœuf held a lucrative office in the war department, and his great wealth enabled him to receive at his house some of the principal courtiers. His wife, belonging, like himself, to the citizen class, was beautiful, agreeable, and highly accomplished, having received a far better education than was then usual in her rank of life. Their mansion soon became celebrated: the husband had his party of men of business; the wife her circle of men of pleasure and fashion: neither interfered with the other, and the lady was allowed to select her lovers at discretion. She had many; but she would not allow of any jealousy amongst them: all were obliged to submit to her caprice, and each might expect a share of her favors in return. Among the number were Le Blanc and Bellisle, whose friendship was not interrupted by their being both attached to the same fair lady.

Madame de Pleinœuf had several children, and among others a daughter, who, to her mother's beauty and accomplishments, added the charms of sparkling wit and lively conversation. But when this daughter grew up, and seemed likely to become a formidable rival, the mother wished to keep her in strict seclusion. The young lady revolted, and gave vent to some bitter sarcasms on maternal jealousy. Pleinœuf was forced to interfere to keep the peace; he succeeded very imperfectly, and consequently resolved to marry his daughter out of the way as quickly as possible.

Her hand, indeed, had already been sought by several suitors. The Marquis de St. Prie was preferred: he was poor, but highly connected, being a cousin of the Duchess de Ventadour. He had lost his military appointments; but a new career was opened to him in diplomacy. The marriage was celebrated with great splendor; the new marchioness was presented at court by the Duchess de Ventadour; Louis XIV. spoke highly of her grace, wit, and modesty; and the Marquis de Prie was appointed ambassador to the court of Turin.

The marquis and marchioness won golden opinions in Italy. They were lavish in expenditure, splendid in dress, and luxurious in entertainments, for Pleinœuf discounted every bill issued by his noble son-in-law. But Louis XIV. died; financial embarrassments began to produce disorder; and the marquis deemed it prudent to resign his expensive embassy. The Marchioness de Prie returned to Paris, having gained largely in tact and experience. She entered the highest circles of fashion, and everywhere created an immense sensation. Madame de Pleinœuf felt herself quite eclipsed by her daughter, who had youth, rank, and fashion in her favor; while Pleinœuf's heavy losses diminished the mother's countervailing influence of wealth. Open war was declared between the two rivals, and it soon became known, in the circle of Madame Pleinœuf's lovers, that the surest road to her favor was to exhibit deadly enmity to her daughter.

The Marchioness de Prie became the avowed mistress of the Duc de Bourbon, over whom she exercised the most unbounded influence. Dubois contrived to excite her against Le Blanc and Bellisle, whom she already hated as lovers of her mother. At her instigation, the Duc de Bourbon accused both of complicity in the dishonest bankruptcy of Jouchere, who had been the treasurer of the extraordinary war expenses. By the joint influence of the duke and Dubois, the regent consented to send Jouchere to the Bastile, to exile Le Blanc, and to hold Bellisle to bail, until his accounts were investigated. The place vacated by Le Blanc was given to Breteuil, an obscure provincial officer, who had rendered the cardinal an essential service, by destroying the proofs of his early marriage, and inducing his wife to accept a moderate pension. Though these facts were more than suspected—in fact, were generally known, he was chosen president of the assembly of the clergy, as if to show the church of France had resolved to share the degradation of the state. Dubois was more anxious to keep himself in power than to perform the duties which power imposed. Almost all his time was devoted to the reception and perusal of reports from the secret police which he kept to watch the movements of the Duke of Orleans. Hence the public business fell greatly into arrear; he was obliged to refuse audiences to all but the foreign ambassadors, and he insulted grossly any one who found means to obtain an interview with him uninvited.

Madame de Conflans having been appointed governess to the children of the Duke of Orleans, was asked by the duchess if she had waited on Cardinal Dubois. She replied that she had

not done so, for that the situation she held was so slightly connected with public affairs, that she did not think such a step necessary. The duchess declared that the peculiar intimacy between the cardinal and the regent rendered such a step indispensable. The governess still refused, declaring that Dubois was impolite and harsh to all who visited him; but, being reassured by the duchess, she consented to make a trial. She followed the cardinal into one of the saloons at Versailles, where she found him standing near the fire, and scolding a lady at a furious rate. When this lady retired, Madame de Conflans advanced. As she was short and slight, Dubois did not notice her until she came quite near to him. He then sharply asked who she was, and what she wanted. In her confusion, she began to address him as "My lord," instead of "Your eminence." Dubois swore* at her for making such a mistake, but this added to her confusion, upon which he seized her by the shoulders, turned her right round, and pushed her out of the room.

The revived suspicions against the regent, and the offence given to many persons of the highest rank by the intolerable coarseness of Dubois, produced an excitement in Paris which it was deemed necessary to avert by hastening the ceremonial of the coronation. St. Simon, in the name of the ducal peers, refused to attend, unless the precedence of his order should be maintained, and the dukes placed at the head of the nobility and above the magistracy. Dubois, who was at this time seeking a reconciliation with the Parliament, refused to assent to St. Simon's conditions; none of the dukes therefore went to Rheims, save those who held offices which rendered their presence indispensable, and the attendance

* "He had for his private secretary an unfrocked monk named Venier, who had been for twenty years in his service. The secretary accommodated himself to all Dubois' habits, and could say freely to him anything he pleased. One morning the cardinal asked him for some paper, which could not immediately be found. Dubois began as usual to swear, to blaspheme, and to curse his clerks, who were all thrown into confusion by his excessive violence. Venier listened to the storm with the most perfect calmness imaginable. The cardinal addressed him; he asked if it was not a horrible thing to be so badly served when he paid his servants so liberally, and he then burst forth into a new tempest of execrations. 'Please your eminence,' said Venier, 'just take an additional clerk, and give him as his sole employment the task of swearing and scolding for you, and all will be right; you will be well served for the future; and, furthermore, you will have a great deal of time at your disposal.' The cardinal could not avoid laughing, and soon allowed himself to be appeased."—*Mémoires de St. Simon.*

of the rest of the nobility was very partial and scanty. St. Simon avers that the ceremony was irregular and incomplete, for the regent, with careless indolence, allowed princes, prelates, and officers of state to act whatever part they pleased.

Immediately after the coronation, the regent and Dubois began to give the young king a series of lectures on politics and the art of government. They had abandoned at this time most of the political principles adopted at the commencement of the regency; they had been reconciled to Spain; they were becoming estranged from England; they had treated the Parliaments as harshly as Louis XIV. himself, and they had gradually restored the legitimated princes to their ancient rank. Jansenism was no longer in favor; a close alliance with Rome was declared to be essential to the peace of the Gallican church, and dissent was harshly persecuted wherever its presence was even suspected. The legal age for the majority of the king in France was thirteen; and as this period approached, the old friends of Louis XIV. loudly expressed their hopes that the power of Orleans and Dubois would be brought to an end. They did not know the ties of tender affection by which the king was bound to the regent. Louis XV. believed that the preservation of his life was owing to the vigilance and attention of Philip of Orleans; the dark rumors and foul suspicions which were circulated seemed only to increase his confidence in the regent; though he spoke little, his eyes were ever fixed on his uncle with a respect and love that were almost filial.

On the 19th of February, 1723, the king received at Versailles the respects and congratulations of the Duke of Orleans and the whole court on having attained his majority. A declaration was published, announcing the cessation of the regency, and preparations were ordered to be made for its solemn registration in a bed of justice. Louis XV. made his public entrance into Paris on the 20th, and the second day after was fixed for his reception by the Parliament.

At noon, on the 22d, which proved to be a bright, clear, frosty day, the quays from the Tuileries to the Pont Neuf, and the line of road from thence to the Palais de Justice, were crowded with anxious spectators, a space barely sufficient for the passage of the procession being kept by the guards. Salvos of artillery, scarcely heard above the cheers of the multitude, announced the moment when the king quitted his palace. Short as was the distance he had to traverse, the anxiety of the Parisians to catch a glimpse of their sovereign, prevented his reaching La Sainte Chapelle before two o'clock; there he alighted and performed his devotions at the

altar, said to have been erected by St. Louis. A deputation of four presidents, wearing their mortar-caps, and eight councillors in their red robes, conducted him to the court of Parliament, where the prelates and ducal peers were assembled in their robes of state, including three new dukes created by the king on the day he attained his majority.

Louis XV. placed himself upon his bed of justice of crimson velvet, and, when silence was re-established, pronounced these few words: "Gentlemen, I have come to my Parliament to inform you that, according to the law of my state, I will henceforth assume the government of it." The Duke of Orleans, having first stood up, then seated himself, and remaining uncovered addressed the king with an unspeakable expression of respect and tenderness. "Sire, we have at last arrived at the happy day so much desired by the nation and by me. I render to a people passionately attached to their rulers, a king whose virtues and intelligence in advance of his age, already guarantee the happiness of his subjects. I restore to your majesty the kingdom as tranquil as when I received it, and I do not hesitate to say, more assured of permanent repose than it was at that period. I have endeavored to repair the dilapidation of the finances, caused by prolonged wars; and if I have been unable to terminate that work, I am consoled by the glory you will gain by its accomplishment. I have sought in your own house for an alliance for your majesty, which, by strengthening the ties of blood between the sovereigns of two powerful nations, will unite their interests yet more closely, and insure their common tranquility. I have watched over the sacred rights of your crown and the interests of the church, which your piety renders more dear to you than those of your crown. I hastened the ceremony of your consecration to augment, if it were possible, the love and respect of your subjects for your person, and to make it even a religion. God has blessed my cares and labors, and the only recompense I ask from your majesty is the happiness of your people. Render them happy, sire, by ruling them with that spirit of wisdom and justice which are the characteristics of great kings, and which, as everything promises us, will be particularly yours."

The deep emotion with which the duke spoke produced a marked effect upon the assembly. Louis XV. replied with tears in his eyes, "My dear uncle, I will never propose to myself any other glory than the happiness of my subjects, which has been the sole object of your regency. In order that I may succeed in my labors, I desire that you should preside next to me in all my

councils, and I confirm the choice, already made by your advice, of Cardinal Dubois as my first minister of state."*

After a few moments of respectful silence the Duke of Orleans advanced, and knelt down to do homage to the young king; but Louis XV. sprang from his seat, threw himself on his uncle's neck, and affectionately embraced him. This was a complete refutation of the calumnies perseveringly directed against the regent for eight years; the child whose murder he was said to have contemplated recognized him as the preserver of his life and crown. It was a moment of moral triumph greater and prouder than the Duke of Orleans could have enjoyed had the diadem encircled his own brows.

* The honors thus heaped on the Duke of Orleans by the young king gave great offence to the old enemies of the regent, which they manifested by a new storm of invectives, satires, epigrams, and lampoons. We shall give one as a specimen.

"Poor infant, poor king! Do you know what you do?
Just escaped from one minister's malice,
You pick out the regent, the worst of the two,
To make him the *Mayor of the Palace.*

"The thunder that struck down the tyrants of old,—
Whose crimes were by Philip repeated,—
Both Honor and Justice forbid to withhold,
While both by delay are defeated."

At the request of the Duke of Orleans no efforts were made to discover the authors of these libels.

CHAPTER XXI.

RENEWED FAVOR OF DUBOIS.—HIS ILLNESS.—MANNER OF HIS DEATH.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS PRIME MINISTER.—MADAME D'AVERNE.—VOLTAIRE'S FLATTERIES.—MADEMOISELLE CHAROLAIS.—THE DUCHESS OF PHALARIS.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS PHYSICIAN.—SUDDEN DEATH OF THE DUKE.—HASTY APPOINTMENT OF THE DUC DE BOURBON.—LAMPOONS ON THE MEMORY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—SUMMARY OF HIS CHARACTER.—HIS SECOND DAUGHTER MADEMOISELLE DE CHARTRES.—HER ECCENTRICITIES.—HIS THIRD DAUGHTER MADEMOISELLE DE VALOIS AND THE DUC DE RICHELIEU.—MARRIAGE OF MADEMOISELLE WITH THE DUKE OF MODENA.—MADEMOISELLE DE MONTPENSIER, YOUNGEST DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—SHE MARRIES THE PRINCE OF THE ASTURIAS.—ABDICATION OF PHILIP V. OF SPAIN IN FAVOR OF THE PRINCE HIS SON.—LETTER OF VOLTAIRE.—DEATH OF THE YOUNG KING OF SPAIN.—RESUMPTION OF THE CROWN BY PHILIP V.

Cardinal Dubois, confirmed in his authority as prime minister by the king in his bed of justice, retained all the prerogatives and influence he had enjoyed under the regency, and believed that a career of power was before him similar to that of Richelieu, whom he had always proposed as his model. His life became more laborious than ever. Exhausted by dissipation, the Duke of Orleans yielded to his constitutional habits of indolence; on Dubois devolved all the fatiguing details of administration: he had to place the most complicated questions of policy before the duke in such a simplified form that he could decide on them without fatigue, a task of no ordinary difficulty when a statesman has to labor for one of inferior intelligence. But the cardinal had long known that his power over the regent entirely depended on his extraordinary skill in simplification of arrangement, by which he kept Philip of Orleans perfect master of state affairs without any laborious exertion on the part of the latter. But he had now to initiate Louis XV. into the principles of government, and acquire his confidence, by presenting to him the most involved affairs of state in a form that might amuse and interest a boy. To these tasks Dubois devoted himself with unexampled assiduity: his labors commenced at five in the morning, and were often protracted beyond midnight.

These exertions soon undermined his health. The king, to spare him the trouble of fatiguing journeys, removed from Versailles to Meudon. A review of the household was commanded, and Dubois resolved to be present on horseback; but the exertion aggravated a disease from which he had long suffered, and he was obliged to have recourse to medical advice. Like Richelieu, he made every possible effort to conceal his malady from the world: he went to the council as often as he could, made appointments with the ambassadors at Paris which he knew he could not keep, and gave way to the most furious bursts of passion if any one attempted to speak to him as he passed in his litter. But the disease rapidly gained strength, and he was at length informed that his only chance of life lay in submitting to a very doubtful surgical operation. Three days elapsed before a reluctant assent to the trial could be extorted, but it was then too late: the surgeons, after the operation, informed him that his hours were numbered.

If we may believe St. Simon, the death-scene of the cardinal was as indecent as his life had been. He rejected the last sacrament, cursed the physicians and attendants, ascribed his death to the stupidity of the surgeons, and quitted life in rage and despair.* Several solemn services were performed for the repose of his soul, but no ecclesiastic could be found to deliver a funeral oration.

The Duke of Orleans did not exhibit much grief for the loss of Dubois; in truth, he had long been wearied of the ascendency of the cardinal, who directed all his actions and kept spies on all his movements. The servant and master had changed places; the Duke of Orleans was a mere instrument in the hands of the minister, and whenever he ventured to differ from Dubois, he had to endure a burst of his violent temper, as if he had been one of his inferiors.

Immediately after the cardinal's death, the Duke of Orleans brought the intelligence to the king, at Meudon, who invited him

* Dubois must have died enormously rich. According to Saint Simon, his income consisted of

Ecclesiastical benefices . . .	£13,500
Salary as prime minister . . .	£10,500
Pension from England . . .	£40,000
	£64,000

He left all his property to his brother, who bestowed the greater part of it on public charities.

to take the vacant office of prime minister. The appointment was rapidly hurried through the customary forms, partly in consequence of the king's sincere love for the regent, and partly because the Bishop of Frejus, who still remained with his royal pupil, feared that, if another were chosen, he might object to the influence which the bishop exercised over the king. One of the duke's first acts was, to recall his old friends, whom the jealousy of Dubois had driven into exile; and he gave some of them large pensions as a recompense for their sufferings.

But business did not interrupt the licentious pleasures of the Duke of Orleans. A little before the death of the cardinal, he had a brief intrigue with his own cousin, Mademoiselle de Charolais; a previous mistress, Madame d'Averne, betrayed the secret to the Duc de Bourbon, the lady's brother, and his indignation had nearly produced a dangerous explosion in the court.* Since the death of the Duchess de Berri, Philip of Orleans had become more deep in his potations, and more extravagant in his licentiousness. The strongest wines were those which best suited his palate. Mesdames Sabran and Parabere no longer reigned supreme over his imagination; he loved, however, to chat with them at his suppers; he smiled at the desperate passion for gambling evinced by Madame de Parabere at the faro-table; and he applauded the gross jests which were hazarded by Madame de Sabran, when copious libations of champagne had rendered her

* The Duke of Bourbon wrote the following letter to Dubois:—

"Monsieur—I am informed that Madame d'Averne has been dismissed, and it is reported that she will be replaced by Mademoiselle de Charolais. Your eminence may well believe that I put no faith in this intelligence; still, as I have seen some extraordinary things in my time, I am bound to pay it some attention, to prevent the possibility of mischief. For this reason I write to say, that my sister is in the midst of the cabal which is so fierce against you, me, and all your friends; furthermore, should such a thing happen, the duchess and I would not endure it; and we should have scenes with the Duke of Orleans which would not fail to produce a violent quarrel. I therefore entreat your eminence to let me know if this report has any foundation."

To this Dubois replied:—

"Monseigneur—The lady who came to Versailles has been asked to discontinue her visits; this is the foundation of the reports which have reached the ears of your serene highness; but I assure you that they are altogether groundless, and that you may set your mind perfectly at ease about the evil consequences of this imaginary intrigue. Everything goes on as smoothly and properly as you could desire, and I hope that a friendship so proper and so reasonable will receive no interruption, in spite of the efforts of those who are anxious that it should be broken."

insensible to decorum; but he chose for his chief favorite a young lady, Madame d'Averne, with whom he became acquainted during one of the balls at the opera.

Madame d'Averne was the daughter of M. de Brégy, a councillor of Parliament. At the age of fifteen she married the Marquis d'Averne, and soon after became the mistress of the Duke of Orleans. She took up her residence at Saint Cloud, where she was soon surrounded by poets, artists, and wits. Voltaire enrolled himself among her flatterers, and addressed adulatory odes to the "Fairy of Saint Cloud," the presiding genius of the palace of pleasure. She was displaced for Mademoiselle Charolais, but this intrigue was cut short by the threatened resentment of the Duc de Bourbon, as we have already mentioned. A young Circassian then became the "Light of his Harem," but her reign was brief, and for some months the post of mistress in chief remained vacant.

The effects of dissipation soon appeared; the duke lost his rest and his appetite; his face became of a dark purple hue, with blotches of red, which excited alarm among his friends and physicians. It was observed by the secretaries of state that he was utterly unfit for business in the morning, being so stupefied as scarcely to recognize their persons, much less attend to their communications. Chirac, his physician, warned him of the danger he courted, and recommended greater temperance and moderation, declaring that otherwise apoplexy was inevitable. The duke was aware of the danger, but continued his extravagant indulgences, and reasoned with cool skepticism on the causes of life and death, and on the void of the tomb.

Saint Simon having visited the duke one morning, was much alarmed at the lethargic state in which he found him. He knew that advice and remonstrance would be useless, and he went home in despair. He communicated his fears to the Bishop of Frejus, and pointed out the necessity of determining who should succeed Philip of Orleans as prime minister. The finances still remained in a state of great confusion, and, if we are to believe Voltaire, the Duke of Orleans had resolved to invite Law to return and renew once more the experiment of paper money. The Duc de Bourbon was believed to have the same design, and it was to prevent his being appointed prime minister, in case of a vacancy, that Saint Simon held secret consultations with the Bishop of Frejus.

The last mistress of the Duke of Orleans was the young and beautiful Duchess of Phalaris, or Phalaria, descended from the

noble family of the Harancourts, in Dauphiné. Her husband was the son of a farmer-general, named Gorgé, who had been ennobled by Pope Clement XI., for his successful negotiation of some important loans. She was only nineteen, and the Duke of Orleans was forty-nine; but notwithstanding this disparity of age she consented to abandon her husband and family, and to become his avowed mistress. None of his previous favorites had loved him so sincerely. She preferred his conversation to all the pleasures of the court; she spent entire days in his cabinet when he was engaged with his ministerial duties, and accompanied him in the evening when he retired to his sybarite seclusion at St. Cloud.

The winter of 1723 was one of great severity. The health of the Duke of Orleans had grown very feeble during the autumn, and, according to some authorities, he had an apoplectic fit in September. Chirac visited him frequently during November, and on the 29th of that month was so much alarmed by the symptoms he observed as to require him to submit to immediate bleeding. The duke replied, "Not yet—not yet, my dear Chirac; I have not time to put myself into your hands to-day; but on Monday, my dear doctor—on Monday, my dear doctor—on Monday, I shall be at your service."

On Monday, the 2d of December, Chirac again presented himself; but the epicurean prince insisted on further delay. "Wait until to-morrow, my good doctor; I wish to enjoy my dinner to-day, and I have to attend the king on important public affairs in the evening." Chirac remonstrated in his usual harsh and unconciliating manner; but this only served to confirm Philip of Orleans in his resolution. He dismissed Chirac, declaring that he had more confidence in his cook than in his physician; and, as if to give force to this bravado, indulged on that day more freely in the pleasures of the table than he had done for months before.

After dinner, he retired into a saloon, which he had recently furnished most sumptuously for the Duchess of Phalaris, to have some conversation with his beautiful mistress before waiting on the king. A private staircase led from this saloon to the door of the king's closet, and the duke sent his secretary round by the public gallery to meet him at this door when the hour of audience arrived. On entering the apartment, he found the duchess preparing for a ball, her curling locks hanging loose on her shoulders, and her dressing-gown not laid aside. He sat down upon a sofa, and she, taking a low stool, placed herself at his feet, her head reposing upon his knees. After a short pause he said to her,

"My fair friend, I am quite worn out with fatigue this evening, and have a stupefying headache; tell me one of those lively stories which you relate so well." The young lady, looking up into his face with childish coquetry, and assuming a mocking smile, began with, "There was once upon a time a king and a queen." She had scarcely uttered the words when the duke's head sank suddenly on his breast, and he fell sideways on her shoulder. As he was sometimes accustomed to take a brief nap in this position, the lady for a second or two felt no alarm; but when she saw his limbs grow stiff, after quivering with convulsion, she sprang to the bell, and rang it violently. No one replied. She rushed into the outer apartments; they were deserted; and it was not until she reached the court-yard that her cries attracted the attention of a few domestics. Chance had so arranged that the accident occurred at a time when everybody was either occupied or out visiting. It was more than half an hour before any medical man made his appearance, and by that time the duke was quite dead. The body was laid on the carpet, and some attempts were made at bleeding; but they proved ineffectual. Expresses were sent to Paris, and the fatal event was communicated to the king.

La Vrillière was one of the first who heard the tidings; he immediately sent off an express to the Duc de Bourbon, and communicated the fact himself to the Bishop of Frejus, with whom he formed a plan for raising this prince to the vacant premiership. No time was lost; before the duke could arrive from Paris, La Vrillière had prepared the proper patent, and procured a copy of the oath taken by the late Duke of Orleans. When Bourbon arrived he was introduced into the royal cabinet, where he found the king overwhelmed with grief. On his entrance, the Bishop of Frejus made some efforts to console his majesty; and after pronouncing an elaborate eulogium on the late Duke of Orleans, he suggested that the king could not do better than request the Duc de Bourbon to accept the vacant office of prime minister—an office not unworthy a prince of the blood. Louis XV. was too agitated to speak, but he bowed his head in token of assent. La Vrillière then said that, as he happened accidentally to have a copy of the oath of office in his pocket, it might be advisable to administer it immediately. Again the king nodded assent. The patent was signed and the oath taken; and thus a few hours sufficed to transfer the supreme power of France from the House of Orleans to the House of Condé.

The death of the Duke of Orleans received more sympathy

from foreign nations than from France.* The devotees regarded it as a judgment from heaven, caused by his profligate life, and by the influence of his libertine example; the Parliament openly rejoiced at being delivered from a ruler who had craftily used and then ungratefully spurned their authority; and the crowd of courtiers to whom he had been most lavish in promises and most slow

* The lampoons by which Philip of Orleans was pursued through life did not cease at his death. We quote a few which appeared immediately after that event.

"Here lies the prince who held his God in scorn,
And whom his God now mocks at in return;
Whose ready wit, and captivating smile,
Pretended mildness, and seductive wile,
Cajoled the French to grant him as his spoil,
Fruits of their care and profits of their toil,
Which he insultingly, with wanton haste,
Spent in debauchery and luxurious waste.
A surfeit caused his death; his stomach led,
As in a hog, at once his heart and head.
'Behold!' it cried, 'such feast as you desire;—
Go wallow in it as a hog in mire.'
The glutton did so, till, swelled like a ton,
He burst, as 'twere an overloaded gun.
Some blasphemy still trembled on his tongue,
Some impious jest upon his lips still hung.
Hold him fast, Satan, he is now thine own:
O let him be a pillar of thy throne.
What happiness might France and Frenchmen know,
If this had happened just eight years ago!"

"Philip of Orleans lies here,
Who, for eight tedious years,
Filled coward Frenchmen's hearts with fear,
Their eyes with scalding tears.
Gods! how he scourged the crawling slaves
Condemned to bootless toil,
While his good friends, those English knaves,
Monopolized the spoil."

"To three divinities my life was given,
And quite unknown was all the rest of heaven.
Bacchus for me poured forth his richest wines,
Plutus bestowed the treasures of his mines;
More genial influence Venus shed around me,
Whose brightest beauties with her fetters bound me."

Upon the tomb of Madame was scrawled, "Here lies Idleness: for when she gave birth to Philip of Orleans, she became the mother of all the vices."

in performances, openly testified their joy at receiving a new master.

The duke's funeral was as carelessly conducted as that of Louis XIV. No sincere mourner appears to have been present; the ceremonial was as cold as it could possibly be; and the Bishop of Angers, who delivered the funeral oration, did not venture to bestow any eulogy upon the deceased.

It has been well observed, that the Duke of Orleans united in himself the types of two great dramatic creations, Faust and Don Juan,—the German philosopher and the Spanish sensualist. His religious skepticism was accompanied by a craving curiosity which rendered him credulous in the promises of alchemy, divination, and the various quackeries which charlatans substitute for the physical sciences. His belief in these delusions was unbounded; he often neglected affairs of state to seek to unfold the secret of the transmutation of metals, or the philosopher's stone. His sensuality, like that of Don Juan, was perfectly selfish; neither passion nor affection mingled with his criminal indulgences,—he laid aside his mistresses to court younger favorites with just as little feeling as a child exchanges an old toy for a new one. The apoplexy which struck him down in the midst of his guilty pleasures, bears no slight analogy to the statue of the commander embracing Don Juan, and dragging him down to destruction.

As a statesman, the Duke of Orleans was hesitating rather than timid; he shrank from violence in his administrative acts; but when his mind was made up, no scruple was allowed to check his course. He cherished sentiments of liberty and habits of absolutism; he spoke with admiration of English institutions, and the independence of the British people; while he concentrated in the hands of Dubois all the despotic power that could possibly be exercised by a minister. He praised the free discussions of the English Parliament, and exiled the Parliaments of Paris on the slightest appearance of resistance to his absolute will.

His fidelity to Louis XV., and the care he took of the feeble childhood of that young monarch, is certainly the noblest trait in his character. Calumny everywhere imputed to him the design of usurping the throne, and even his friends believed that such a project had more than once formed the subject of deliberation between him and Dubois, a suspicion which is strongly confirmed by the efforts of both to exclude the Spanish line of the Bourbons from the succession. He may have calculated that the life of a frail and sickly child would not be long protracted; and there is something like evidence of a design to secure the chances of suc-

cession by betrothing the king to an infant, and thus postponing to a distant period the chances of his having a direct heir to the crown. He was well aware of the passionate attachment the people of France had formed for Louis XV.; and that, had he been removed by forcible or even suspicious means, the entire nation would have revolted against the dynasty of the House of Orleans.

Philip of Orleans was, as we have seen, a faithless husband. He had been coerced into marriage by the imperious will of Louis XIV., and had with difficulty covered his infidelities to the monarch's daughter with a decent veil of secrecy during that king's life. But no sooner had Louis XIV. breathed his last than all restraint was laid aside, and his gallantries were ostentatiously made public, as if in defiance of public opinion. The duchess made no effort to restrain her husband; she felt too indignant at his conduct to her brother, the Duke of Maine, to feel or feign affection for him, and so long as her pension was regularly paid and all proper forms of outward respect preserved, she scarcely inquired what object had gained his affections. For a short time she had hoped that, as wife of the regent, she might be allowed to act the part of Queen of France;* but when she found that the regent would admit no one to share his power, she remained quite contented, feeling assured that he would not allow a mistress to reign in her stead. During the later years of his life, Philip of Orleans only saw his wife in public, and, as his visits were merely ceremonial, they were generally of brief duration.

We have given at some length the history of the duke's eldest and favorite daughter, the Duchess de Berri. It will not be necessary to dilate on the lives of any of the rest. Mademoiselle de Chartres, the regent's second daughter, is said to have exhibited rather too passionate an attachment for Couchereau, a celebrated opera-singer, and her mother, alarmed at the danger, resolved to place her in a convent. Madame, however, declares in her Mémoires that a monastic life was chosen by the young lady herself, and that every possible effort was made by both her parents to dissuade her from taking the vows. She subsequently became Abbess of Chelles, and indulged in manly sports and exercises not very consistent with her sacred vocation. St. Simon says of her, "Sometimes austere to excess, sometimes retaining nothing

* "She seeks not the heart of my son, but a share of his power. She is always afraid that some one may govern in her stead."—*Mémoires de Madame*, &c.

of the nun but the dress; studying by fits and starts, music, surgery, theology, and natural science, or devoting her time to the direction of the consciences of the inmates of her abbey; and all this without sequence or order, but still with abundance of wit and intelligence. Always fatigued and disgusted with each of her different pursuits, and incapable of perseverance in any, she soon became weary of her place at Chelles. Finally, she obtained permission to resign, and to have one of her favorites nominated to the vacant situation, a place, however, which she did not long retain. The abbess then retired to a beautiful set of apartments in the Benedictine convent of the Madeleine de Fresnel. Here she spent a life marked with strange eccentricities, but not sullied by any flagrant immorality, always boasting that she was the happiest of the family.

Mademoiselle de Valois, the third daughter of the regent, had an intrigue with the handsome Duc de Richelieu,* which gave rise to considerable scandal. Madame, whose German pride was severely wounded, sent word to the Duc de Richelieu, that, if he came near any place where she and her granddaughter resided, he would run serious risk of his life. The regent adopted a more stringent course. He sent the Duc de Richelieu to the Bastile, as a sharer in the conspiracy of Cellamare, and commanded the princess to accept the hand of the Duke de Modena. She consented to the match, but made the liberation of her lover a condition. The regent consented, so soon as the marriage, by proxy, was completed; but the lady showed no anxiety to fulfil her part of the engagement. She tarried so long in France, that the Duke of Modena threatened to apply for a divorce. The regent had to go to his daughter, who was making, at her leisure, a tour through Provence, and to exert all his influence to induce her to embark at Antibes. Her reluctance must in some degree be attributed to the influence of her aunt, the Grand-Duchess of Tuscany, who said to her, immediately after the marriage, "Go, child, and remember to follow my example; have one or two children, and then

* "The Duc de Richelieu, the Abbé de Zinzendorf, and Count Vesterloo, were persuaded by a charlatan that he could introduce them to the devil, and obtain for each any special gift he desired. Richelieu said that he wished to be enabled to win the hearts of princes, as he was already sure of the hearts of ladies. The place chosen for the evocation of Satan was a quarry near Vienna, whither the three noblemen proceeded one night in company with the mountebank. The spells were tried, and of course failed, upon which the three, enraged at being duped, drew their swords and slew the impostor."

act in such a way as will compel your husband to send you back to France; this is the only country suited to ladies like us."

The Count de Salvatico, who was sent by the Duke of Modena to escort the bride, fell in love with her on the road, and even ventured openly to declare his passion.* She liked her husband better than she had expected; but she found that he possessed his full share of Italian jealousy, for, when the Duc de Richelieu visited Italy, he received a very broad hint that it would not be quite safe for him to visit the court of Modena. In the end, the duchess followed the advice of her aunt, and, having been separated from her husband, came to end her days amid the luxuries and pleasures of Paris.

Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the youngest daughter of the regent, was little more than a child when she was married to the Prince of Asturias. He, too, was very young, and, as he was also in ill health, it was agreed that the wedded pair should not be allowed to live together the first year. The etiquette of the age, however, required that a couple should be seen bedded before the marriage could be duly verified; but, as this was inconsistent with Spanish notions, it was no easy matter to effect such an arrangement as would satisfy all parties. It was finally arranged that the boy and girl should be placed in the same bed, while the prince's governor, the Duc de Popoli, stood within one curtain, and the princess's *gouvernante*, the Duchess de Monteillano, occupied a similar place inside the opposite curtain.† The lower curtains of the bed were then drawn open, and the principal nobles of Spain, the French ambassador and his suite, with several others, passed through the apartment. This lasted about half an hour, when the doors were closed, and the prince and princess removed by their attendants to separate chambers.

From the first day of her arrival at Madrid, the Princess of the Asturias exhibited a sour and sullen disposition, and a pertinacious resistance to the cumbrous forms of the Spanish ceremonial. It was almost necessary to have recourse to actual violence before

* Madame considered this a very great piece of good luck; she records, in her Mémoires, that her granddaughter need not fear Salvatico's repeating any of the scandalous reports circulated against her in France, as she could reply that they were mere inventions devised by the spite of a disappointed lover.

† A similar arrangement took place in Ireland during the last century, when the heir of the king family was married to the heiress of the Fitzgeralds, both being under age. From this union the Earls of Kingston and Lorton are descended.

she could be induced to pay her respects to the king and queen. Splendid preparations had been made for a state ball, which their Catholic majesties intended to give in honor of her marriage; but she refused to attend it, and would assign no other reason than her own caprice. She thoroughly detested the queen, Philip's second wife; and in this feeling she was supported by the whole Spanish nation, who followed her majesty whenever she appeared, with shouts, in honor of her predecessor.*

Soon after the princess had been permitted to live with her husband, all Europe was astounded by the intelligence that Philip V. had resolved to abdicate the throne in favor of his eldest son, the Prince of Asturias. On the 10th of January, he sent a message to the Council of Castile, in which he announced "that he had resolved to withdraw altogether from the affairs of government, abdicating the possession of all his states, kingdoms, and royalties, in favor of his son, Don Louis, Prince of the Asturias, to lead a private life at St. Ildefonso, in company with his queen, who had, of her own accord and with free will and pleasure, consented to retire with him, that, disembarrassed from every other care, he might give himself up to the service of God, meditate on a future state, and attend to the important work of his own eternal salvation."

Religion, or rather superstition, had such influence over the feeble mind of Philip V., that there is no very valid reason to doubt of his sincerity in the motives he assigned for his abdication. His extreme devotion was accompanied by a profound and constant melancholy, which led him to believe that it was almost impossible for any human being to escape eternal torments. Even while contending for the Spanish crown during the Wars of the Succession, he had been beset by anxious scruples arising out of the renunciations of his grandmother, and often said that his claims were invalidated by perjury. But other motives doubtless actuated him. It was reported that Louis XV. was dying; and his health, indeed, had rapidly declined ever since the death of the Duke of Orleans, so that his dissolution was daily expected. Philip, perhaps, hoped that by his abdication he would annul the renunciations he had made at the treaty of Utrecht, and recover his right of succession to the throne of France.

The new king, Louis, late Prince of the Asturias, was stern, silent, and morose. It was almost as difficult to get a few words from him as from his cousin, the King of France; but the Span-

* *Viva el rey y la Savoiana.*

ish people loved him because he had been born in Spain, because he was not the son of Philip's second queen; because he detested the Italians, the French, and all other foreigners; and because he was thoroughly imbued with Spanish prejudices and superstitions.

The aversion of Louis for foreigners extended to his young queen; but, as the Duc de Bourbon, from the time of his becoming prime minister, had exhibited the most ungrateful hatred to the family and friends of the late Duke of Orleans, neither he nor the French ambassador, Tessé, paid the slightest attention to her mortifications. But these, indeed, were well merited. Voltaire, writing to a lady, *La présidente de Bernieres*, thus describes the queen's conduct:—

"Forges, July 20, 1724.

"MADAME—I sincerely hope that you have as yet heard nothing of the news from Spain, in order that I may have the pleasure of relating them to you. The new King of Spain has shut up Madame his spouse, daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, who, in spite of her pointed nose and long face, was not slow in imitating the noble examples of those worthy ladies, her sisters.* . . . . They have broken up her entire household, and have given her, in the castle in which she is confined, only one impertinent old prude for her lady in waiting. I have been assured that, when the poor young queen found herself shut up with this horrid duenna, she took the courageous resolution of throwing herself out of the window, and that she would have succeeded had not assistance arrived immediately."

The queen was arrested in her carriage as she returned from her evening promenade. She was imprisoned in the alcazar, and very closely guarded; and a circular was addressed to all the foreign ministers, explaining the circumstances. But the detention of the young queen, who had not yet attained her fifteenth year, did not last long. Louis, after having dismissed seventeen of her attendants, received her again into his palace of Buen Retiro. He kept, however, a strict watch on her conduct, and was said to have taken some steps to obtain a divorce, a measure to which he was strongly urged by the Jesuits, who had never forgiven the hostility evinced to their party by her father at the commencement of the regency. Before these intrigues could be

* We have mentioned in a preceding chapter that the profligate Duchess de Berri had endeavored to win the friendship of young Arouet, and had invited him to share in her orgies. Arouet (Voltaire) did not, however, abandon the Duchess de Maine.

brought to maturity, the king was attacked by a mortal disease. On the 19th of August, he was seized with small-pox in its most virulent form. In spite of her giddiness and resentment, the young queen attended on him with the greatest affection, until she was herself laid prostrate by the same contagious disease. The king died on the 31st of August. The recovery of the queen was slow; indeed, it may be said that she never regained her former robust health.

A little before his death, Louis made a will, in which he declared his father his heir, and exhorted him to resume the crown. By the act of abdication, however, the succession was secured to Ferdinand, the brother of Louis, and like him a son of the Princess of Savoy; and, as he was only a boy of ten years of age, a council of regency had been nominated in anticipation of the contingency. All the court of the young king, well aware that, during their brief tenure of power, they had mortally offended Philip and his queen, showed the greatest alarm at the prospect of his resuming the crown: and the Spanish nation generally, persisting in its hatred to foreigners, and especially the Italian faction, openly avowed its preference for a regency. The Jesuit, Bermudez, the king's confessor, whether animated by this national hatred, or actuated by real scruples of conscience, persisted in declaring that an abdication made for the purpose of devoting himself to the service of God was an indissoluble vow which bound Philip to heaven. During five days, Philip wavered between the scruples of casuists and the urgent entreaties of his wife, who was anxious once more to reascend the throne. At length the efforts of the French ambassador, the Marshal de Tesse, and of the papal nuncio Cardinal Aldobrandini, triumphed over the scruples of the casuists and the vows and intrigues of the council of Castille. Four doctors of theology gave it as their opinion that Philip was bound to resume the sceptre, under pain of mortal sin; he yielded to their decision, and on the 5th of September signed an ordinance by which he declared himself once more sovereign of Spain and the Indies.

While these intrigues, destined to exercise a decisive influence over her future life, were in progress, the young queen lay helpless on a bed of sickness, unable to hold any communication with her father-in-law, whose dread of the small-pox led him to forbid the approach of anybody who had been in the same room with the patient. The first intelligence she received on her convalescence was that it had been resolved to send her back to France. It was not unwelcome news; she showed herself as anxious to return as the Spaniards were to remove her. Louis XV. re-

ceived her honorably, and assigned her a suite of apartments in the Luxembourg. Neither the person, the temper, nor the habits of the Queen-Dowager of Spain were calculated to render her a favorite at the court, or popular in Paris. After some efforts to occupy a leading position in the fashionable world, which proved signal failures, she retired into morose solitude, refusing to receive the visits even of her own family. Thus she vegetated rather than lived, until the 15th of June, 1742, when she died, if we are to believe the preacher of her funeral sermon, "after having performed the most exemplary works of piety and charity." Funeral sermons are, however, rather suspicious authorities. Duclos asserts that the Dowager-Queen of Spain was remarkable only for her selfishness and her sullen temper, and that she was more than suspected of sharing the infidel doctrines of her father and her elder sister.

The profligacy of the Duchess de Berri, and the eccentricities of the Abbess de Chelles, attracted more attention to the daughters of the Duke of Orleans than the elevation of the youngest sister to a throne. Unfortunately, their characters were not such as would bear a very rigid scrutiny. The indulgence, and the example, of their father had taught them early to despise maternal advice; while, on the other hand, their brother, of whom we shall give some account in another chapter, having previously to record the history of a lady, surrendered himself entirely to the direction of his mother.

CHAPTER XXII.

CLAUDINE DE TENCIN.—HER BIRTH.—ALTERNATIVE PROPOSED BY HER MOTHER.—M. DE CHANDENNIER.—BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HIS FATHER.—THE FINANCIER AND THE POOR ABBÉ.—VISIT OF CHANDENNIER TO CLAUDINE.—RUMORS IN CONSEQUENCE.—CLAUDINE GOES TO A NUNNERY.—CHANDENNIER'S VENGEANCE.—CLAUDINE AT MONTFLEURY.—HER POPULARITY.—THE ARCHBISHOP LECAMUS.—HIS INDULGENCES.—ECLOGUES OF FONTENELLE.—THEIR EFFECT AT MONTFLEURY.—THE PASTORAL FETE AT MONTFLEURY.—M. DESTOUCHES.—CLAUDINE AND D'ALEMBERT, HER SON.—SHE SETS OUT FOR PARIS.—HER INTIMACY WITH THE REGENT ORLEANS.—THE FEMALE PLATO.—THE ABBE TENCIN.—M. LAFRESNAYE.—HIS ATTEMPTED REVENGE.—ITS RESULT.—CLAUDINE AN AUTHORESS.—HER POLITICAL INTRIGUES.—HER CONNECTION WITH THE DUC DE RICHELIEU.—HER PATRONAGE OF AUTHORS.—HER PARTICULAR TREATMENT OF THEM.—MARMONTEL.—CLAUDINE AND HER SON.—HER DEATH.—CHARACTERISTIC SORROW OF FONTENELLE.

Among the many mistresses of the regent, there was none whose career was so extraordinary, and the incidents of whose life were so characteristic of the age, as those of Claudine de Tencin. For both reasons we have resolved to devote a chapter to her history.

In the last years of Louis XIV., when the hypocritical piety of Madame de Maintenon had rendered devotion fashionable, and had restored to the *Tartuffes* the influence of which they had been deprived by the satire of Molière, there resided in a dilapidated château near Grenoble, a family named Guerin, which, in spite of straitened circumstances, maintained all its pretensions to gentility, and took the title of De Tencin, from the moderate estate on which they vegetated rather than lived. The family consisted of a widowed mother, two sons, and four daughters, two of whom were marriageable. The eldest son obtained a diplomatic situation; the eldest daughter married a rich financier; the second son, called the Abbé de Tencin, was destined to enter the church; and the second daughter, Claudine de Tencin, was warned by her mother to procure a husband within twelve months, or to prepare herself for a convent.

Claudine, though pretty, was poor, and dowries were as great objects of consideration in Grenoble as in Paris: moreover, she had a decided taste for contradiction and repartee, so that she was called Mademoiselle *Nenni* throughout the country, from her habit of always replying in the negative. Her brother the abbé was notorious for assenting to everybody, and was, in consequence, admitted to every table where flattery would pass as current coin in payment for food. Notwithstanding this difference of disposition, the brother and sister were warmly attached to each other, and had vowed to share any benefits which fortune might have in store for them. Both had boundless ambition: the abbé aspired to the highest dignities of the church; Claudine more vaguely fixed her hopes on acquiring political influence, either as a wife or a mistress.

The alternative presented by the mother alarmed Claudine: she represented its injustice, if she was to remain in the country, where no eligible partner was likely to appear. Madame yielded to this reasoning, and removed for a season to Grenoble, where Claudine was presented to fashionable society, in a robe made from her mother's well-preserved wedding-gown. At her first ball, she captivated M. de Chandennier, a young man of good family and tolerable fortune. He was the cousin of the Marquis de Chandennier, of the ancient House of Rochechouart, whose obstinate resistance to Cardinal Mazarin, and voluntary exile from court, are now almost forgotten, though they were deemed the most extraordinary instances of personal independence under the despotic reign of Louis XIV.

The marquis had been the first captain of the household troops, and was highly respected for his valor, talents, and singular probity. These qualities did not suit Mazarin; he wished to have a more flexible officer, who would implicitly obey his commands, without inquiring too nicely into the morality or legality of his injunctions. Mazarin commanded Chandennier to sell his commission to M. de Noailles, who, without waiting for the marquis's consent, assumed at once the functions of his post. Chandennier refused to send in his resignation, or to accept the purchase-money; upon which he was arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Loches, where, as he was known to be poor, it was hoped that he might be starved into submission. The marquis, however, lived contentedly on the prison allowance, receiving, however, occasional presents of better provisions from the inhabitants of Loches, who honored his spirit, and detested the cardinal. Two years elapsed, during which the prisoner made no complaint, and

offered no sign of submission. At length the court, ashamed of its own violence, granted him his freedom, but at the same time banished him from Paris. It was notified to him that the price of his commission was ready to be paid whenever he chose to accept it; and that, so soon as he signed a receipt for the money, he would be restored to royal favor. Chandennier was as obstinate in exile as he had been in prison; it was hoped that leniency would have a better effect than severity, and he was permitted to return to Paris. Still unsubdued, he went to reside in a small cottage near Sainte Genevieve, and gave himself up to devotion. This suggested the last attempt to overcome his obstinacy. His confessor was induced to represent to him that, in justice to his creditors, he ought to accept the purchase-money of his commission, and apply it to the payment of his debts. Chandennier so far yielded, as to have an interview with the younger Noailles, who had succeeded to the disputed post on the death of his father; but no agreement could be arrived at, and to the last hour of his life the Marquis de Chandennier retained his titular rank as first captain of the royal guards.

M. de Chandennier, the hero of the ball at Grenoble, was said to have inherited his cousin's noble qualities—the marquis, indeed, had nothing else to bequeath; and he was preparing to visit Paris in search of fortune when he was caught by the fair form and lively wit of Claudine de Tencin. He at first meditated nothing more than a little flirtation with the rustic beauty, whom he hoped to dazzle and overawe by his superior knowledge of the world; but he soon found that he was beaten at his own weapons. Long before the ball had concluded, Chandennier had abandoned all his plans of a wealthy marriage, for love and a cottage with the beauty of Grenoble. At the conclusion of the ball, as Claudine and her mother were about to return home in their modest carriage, the gallant lover offered the services of his footmen to light them with flambeaux to the gates of the city. Claudine yielded to her natural instinct, and without any reflection replied—"No, sir, we thank you; our servant knows the way."

This unexpected repulse discouraged the lover; but he sought to gain the favor of her brother, and he invited the abbé to a supper, where the most fashionable young men of Grenoble were assembled.

Among the guests was a young financier, of more wealth than wit. Enraged at finding himself eclipsed in conversation by a poor abbé, he began to mock the mean dress and poverty of Tencin. The abbé defended himself with so much wit, that the

rest of the company ranged themselves on his side; and when, with a triumphant joke, he asked the financier to lend him five hundred pistoles on his note of hand, all present insisted that the wealthy blockhead should comply, under pain of personal chastisement. On the following morning, Claudine received a letter from her brother, inclosing half the sum he had so strangely gained, declaring that with the rest he would go to Paris in search of fortune, and advising her to lose no time in coming to an arrangement with her suitor.

Claudine had already repented her refusal of her lover's proffered politeness; she had even gone the length of inviting him to pay her a visit, whenever his taste led him to make a rural excursion. Five or six days after the ball, it was announced that a brilliant band of cavaliers was approaching the dilapidated castle of the Tencins; and all the preparations usually adopted by pride to hide poverty were hastily made for their reception. A ploughboy, in an old livery, enacted the part of porter, and the farm-servants, unprepared by previous drill, were suddenly transformed into grooms, ushers, footmen, and feudal retainers. Several amusing blunders were made: the porter, dazzled by the dresses of the guests, exhausted himself in mute salutations; the groom was so charmed with M. de Chandennier's horse, that he compelled the gentleman to tell him the price of the animal before he assisted him to dismount; and the footmen, instead of marshaling the way, ran against each other, and knocked their heads together, so that Chandennier in the end entered the saloon without being previously announced.

Claudine and her mother had too much tact to notice the confusion which the polite Chandennier affected not to perceive. The topics of the day were discussed. The Tencins had recently received letters from Spain, which enabled them to amuse their guests with the latest details respecting the disgrace of the Princess d'Ursins. The visitor was able to elucidate the narrative by relating the scandals circulated in Paris against the Duke of Orleans. Claudine—as if she had some secret foresight of her future destiny—took a lively interest in the anecdotes told of that licentious prince, and was not quite so much shocked as might have been expected from her secluded education.

After some time, it was proposed that the gentleman should visit the gardens, accompanied by Claudine and her two sisters, the elder of whom was only ten years of age. In this promenade, the conquest was completed: the mother, who watched from the windows, though she could not hear the conversation, easily

learned, from the cavalier's animated gestures, that his heart was won.

Chandennier was an ardent lover: he frequently repeated his visits to the De Tencins, sent them presents of game, but could not be induced to make a formal proposal of marriage. Evil tongues soon began to propagate scandal. At a later period, such attentions might have passed unnoticed; but at this period the piety and prudery of Madame de Maintenon reigned supreme. The ladies of the provinces, aping the manners of Versailles, had three confessors apiece, read nothing but homilies, and were quite convinced that society was threatened with total ruin by the profane levity of the rising generation. The young men of Grenoble observed that Chandennier seemed to have forgotten the journey to Paris, for which he was at first so eager; his repeated rural excursions gave rise to suspicion; and with the usual charity of provincial gossip, it was speedily decided that Claudine had fallen a victim to vanity and temptation.

The tale reached the ears of the abbess of the Augustinian nuns at Montfleury, who was distantly related to the family. She came to the castle, and informed Claudine and her mother of the calumnies which had been propagated. While the ladies were discussing this delicate subject, Chandennier made his appearance. Claudine overwhelmed him with reproaches, until he offered to silence scandal by immediately making her his wife. Though this had been the great object of her arts and hopes, she could not resist the waywardness of her temper: she declared that the lover should endure the penance of three months' delay, which she would spend in a convent; and she insisted that the abbess should carry her off to Montfleury within the hour. Remonstrances were in vain. Claudine, however, feeling that she had been a little hasty, informed her lover that, if she had reason to be satisfied with his conduct, she would abridge the period of his penance.

Chandennier's self-love was wounded by such caprice: his friends in Grenoble jested him on having been the dupe of a village coquette. Claudine soon perceived that his attachment was cooling, and, in order to revive it, she pretended to have imbibed a taste for conventual life; and when he spoke to her of his heart, she answered with pious disquisitions on the state of her soul. In imagination she had constructed a romance, of which she hoped to be the heroine. A true lover, in her view, so far from being daunted by obstacles, ought rather to be roused to exertion by every new difficulty. He should be prepared to escalade walls,

to burst bars, to storm the cloister, to tear his mistress from the altar, and, even if she had pronounced conventual vows, to fly with her to Rome, and wrest a dispensation from the pope, by dint of tears and supplications. Unfortunately, while poetry and romance led the lady in one direction, prose and reality conducted the gentleman in the very opposite. His ambitious hopes returned: he remembered his resolution to seek for a wealthy wife, and recollected that Claudine had no fortune. He thought that a rustic beauty ought to have been more grateful for the proffer of his purse and person; and he could not comprehend Claudine's high-flown sentimentality. Finally, Chandennier became weary of the romance: he wrote her a letter, in which he showed that he clearly understood the nature of the farce she was playing, declared that he would no longer be her dupe, and bade her farewell in cold and cutting terms.

Having gratified his self-love in this manner, the gentleman proceeded to Paris, where successful ambition soon healed the pangs of mortified vanity. He obtained high office in the court, married the daughter of a wealthy financier, and eventually became the minister of Louis XV., with the title of Marquis de Rochechouart.

This rupture grievously disappointed Claudine: she dreaded to face the reproaches of her mother, and the laughter of the world. To escape both, she loudly proclaimed that she had refused Chandennier, in order to devote herself to heaven. All the pious people in the province declared that they were edified by such a sacrifice. The news reached Paris, and was the theme of conversation in the saloons of Madame de Maintenon; and her profession was made in the presence of all the clergy and nobles of the south of France.

The beautiful nun became the rage; the parlor of the convent was the centre of attraction for all the pious and the fashionable in Grenoble and its vicinity; the devout and the dissipated flocked thither together. The nuns were delighted, and the abbess, who was rather short-sighted, believed that her convent was about to sanctify the whole kingdom.

There were, however, some envious people who thought such scenes not consistent with conventual propriety. They represented the state of the convent to Lecamus, the archbishop of the diocese. One day, when mirth and gallantry were at their highest in the parlor, the door was suddenly thrown open, and the grave prelate stood in the midst of the astonished assembly. The crowd dispersed in an instant. Claudine comprehended the crisis, and

stood her ground by the side of the abbess. Before the archbishop could complete a sentence, she said:—

"My lord, I am the only person here deserving censure or punishment. The abbess and nuns treat me as a spoiled child. They think that I, who despised gallantry when I mixed in the giddy circles of fashionable life, can fear no danger when sheltered by the sanctity of these walls. Believe me, holy father, freedom of conversation is far less likely to corrupt the heart than solitude and weariness."

"Who, in the name of wonder, is this little chatterer?" asked the surprised, but mollified archbishop.

"I am sister Claudine, my lord, formerly Mademoiselle de Tencin. I received the vail from you some few months ago, though a very wealthy and noble gentleman proffered me his heart and hand."

Lecamus was a better theologian than logician. He quoted the rules of the Order, and several long passages from St. Augustine, to all of which Claudine replied by clever appeals to his feelings, until at length the archbishop compromised the matter, by permitting the nuns to retain their freedom, on condition of giving up their guitars and mandolines, and banishing romances from their library.

Before leaving Montfleury, the archbishop, however, warned Claudine that he would hold her responsible, if any scandalous consequences followed from the liberties he had conceded. She replied—

"My lord, it would not be just to condemn me for any such result. The demon is artful; should he derive any advantage from your kindness, we will console ourselves with the reflection, that worse results might have followed from anger and severity. Pray for us, that we may not be led into temptation."

Lecamus was quite won over: he left the convent without pronouncing a word of censure; and when any of his more austere brethren remonstrated, he replied, "We must leave the poor young ladies a little liberty: I know they will not make a bad use of it. There is amongst them a youthful model of innocence and virtue, who has pledged herself for the conduct of the rest."

The worthy archbishop had formed a friendship for Claudine, as warm as his age, dignity, and sacred profession allowed. He visited Montfleury more frequently than any other convent in his diocese; he showed a marked preference for the sparkling conversation of his lively favorite; he sanctioned the amusements she patronized by his presence; and lightened the penances for

slight breaches of conventual discipline at her solicitation. This influence with the archbishop rendered Claudine all-powerful with the sisterhood;—she was, in fact, allowed the entire direction of the convent.

At this period, "Fontenelle's Eclogues" had spread a passion for the imaginative sentimentalism of pastoral life throughout France. In every rank of life, persons were anxious to become shepherds and shepherdesses; to discuss the mysteries of love when they led their flocks to pasture, and recite pastoral odes under the shade of the wide-spreading beech. Fontenelle himself, happening to come to Grenoble, was introduced at Montfleury, and, with the sanction of the archbishop, he presented a copy of his *pastorals* to the innocent nuns. The delicious poetry turned their brains; they regretted the vows which confined them to a cloister, instead of leading their flocks to pasture; and they bought a pet sheep, which they soon crammed to death with sweetmeats.

In the neighborhood of the convent lived a young landed proprietor, M. Destouches, who was seized with the pastoral mania more strongly than the nuns themselves. He roamed through the fields dressed as a shepherd, reading or reciting favorite passages from Fontenelle; and sometimes his voice penetrated into the convent, and brought a response of poetry from the amiable Claudine. M. Destouches was soon introduced at Montfleury, and became the most favored visitor of the parlor.

At this crisis, Louis XIV. died, and the profligate follies of the regency commenced. The relaxation of morals was felt throughout France, and M. Destouches was permitted to give a pastoral *fête*, ending with a display of fireworks, to the nuns of Montfleury, on his own estate. The announcement of this feast produced some excitement in the province: remonstrances were addressed by a few devotees to Archbishop Lecamus, but he could discover no danger in pastorals. His secretary, the Jesuit Bougeaut, was equally unsuspicious; and he has recorded in his correspondence, with great complacency, that the entertainment took place on Easter Monday, 1716. The worthy Father Bougeaut dwells with great unction on the innocent enjoyment of the nuns travestied into shepherdesses; but though he was present, and has left a very amusing account of the pastoral sports, he has omitted some incidents, which we hasten to supply from other sources.

The repast was served under an arbor of trellis-work, commanding an extensive view of the gardens; a cascade fell into a mar-

ble basin at the extremity of the parterre, and the perspective was completed by a grove of linden-trees, ingeniously cut into the form of umbrellas. After the feast, which was attended by negro servants, a rustic quadrille was danced, in which the host took a conspicuous part, and then the company, separating into groups, promenaded through the park, enlivened by a concert of instrumental music. Claudine was the heroine of the entertainment: she and Destouches discussed the mysteries of pastoral and Platonic love until sunset, when the fireworks, having engaged general attention, they turned into a shady walk, to indulge their interchange of sentiment more freely. Sentiment soon gave place to warmer emotions; Claudine forgot her habits of negation at the moment they would have been most useful to her—she and M. Destouches became more than poetic lovers, and vowed eternal attachment to each other.

The natural consequences followed—Claudine felt that she was about to become a mother, and she resolved to confide to Archbishop Lecamus the secret of her situation. It is easier to conceive than to describe the surprise and horror of the worthy prelate. But Claudine retained her influence over him. She induced him to inform Fontenelle of the consequences produced by the influence of his poetry, and to exert himself to procure a dispensation from the pope. Clement XI. was an admirer of Fontenelle; he was also anxious to gain literary support in France, where the controversy respecting the bull *Unigenitus* was then raging. Claudine was named a canoness in the Chapter of Neuville, near Lyons, an office which exonerated her from her vows of poverty and obedience, but left her bound to chastity. After having taken possession of her prebend, Claudine retired to a small village near Grenoble, where, on the 2d of January, 1717, she gave birth to a son, who received the name of D'Alembert, from a small estate settled on him by his father. It is scarcely necessary to add that this boy subsequently attained European celebrity as the great mathematician D'Alembert, one of the most eminent of the Encyclopedist philosophers, and Fontenelle's successor as perpetual secretary to the French Academy. After a short time, she received evidence that M. Destouches was a faithless lover, and this, united to some maternal advice which her mother is said to have given shortly before her death, induced the pastoral canoness to set out for Paris, with the determined purpose of captivating the heart of the regent.

At the time when the Canoness de Tencin set out for Paris, the extravagance of the regency was at its height. A fever of

dissipation had turned every brain: parties of pleasure were blended with parties in politics, and intrigues were conjoined with treasonable conspiracies. The regent, to secure leisure for his criminal indulgences, had intrusted the entire administration to Cardinal Dubois; and the cardinal, or abbé, as he was at this period—dividing his time between debauchery and the secret police—allowed large arrears of business to accumulate, which he frequently cleared off by burning the despatches without reading them. The sun rose on the unextinguished tapers in the Palais Royal; the regent's daughter maintained the state of a queen, and the habits of a courtesan, in the Luxembourg; the city was as profligate as the court. Songs, suppers, and assignations made the entire sum of life. The reaction against the hypocritical severity of Madame de Maintenon's *régime* was greater than that which took place in England when the profligacy of the Restoration superseded the stern reign of Puritanism. Every one lived in the midst of excitement; nothing like quiet or repose could be found in the court or the country.

Her brother, the abbé, who had already made some progress in life, introduced Claudine to his friends. Fontenelle, who had been interested in her past history, and had some hope of winning her favor, labored to bring her into fashion. She was introduced to Law just as the regent was about to place that celebrated Scotchman at the head of the finances, and it was at her instigation that Law consented to embrace the Catholic religion, and to ascribe the honor of his conversion to her brother, the Abbé de Tencin. She was soon invited to the brilliant assemblies at the Palais Royal, and, after several failures, at length succeeded in attracting the attention of the regent. He had paid her but little attention when she was first introduced at court, and only noticed her when his friends, casually discussing the beauties of a court-ball, awarded the preference to Madame de Tencin. He declared his passion, and was not allowed to languish in doubt. Fontenelle, who half-persuaded himself that he was in love with Claudine, visited her one morning; the carriage was at the door, and the lady dressed in her most alluring style. He spoke of love, and was ridiculed; he asked to be her companion in her drive, and was rejected. As she had shown him some attention the day before, he was both surprised and displeased; but the mystery was explained when he heard her command to the coachman—

"Drive to the Palais Royal, and set me down at the private entrance."

The regent, at first, exhibited greater steadiness of attachment

to Claudine than he had ever manifested to any of his former mistresses. She believed that her fortune was fixed, when Orleans publicly installed her as his mistress, and she hoped to acquire the same influence in the state as a Montespan or a Maintenon. She did not know the regent: as inconstant as he was profligate, he parted from a mistress with as little scruple as he changed his coat; and, trained to form the most contemptuous opinion of the fair sex, he dreaded nothing on earth so much as a female politician. Claudine hoped to overcome his inveterate indolence—to induce him to take an active part in the affairs of state, and to convert her boudoir into a ministerial saloon.

One day when the regent visited her at her toilette, she reproached him with indolence, his disregard for glory, and his neglect of the duties of his station. Orleans in vain endeavored to turn her from the subject by witty replies; but at length worn out, he ordered his servants to throw open the doors, and to admit the entire circle of his profligate companions. Claudine, half-dressed, hid herself behind a screen; but the regent threw down the screen, and sarcastically introduced her to his companions as "a female Plato, peculiarly suited to become a professor in the university, or the tutor of any ambitious youth who wished to combine love with politics and sentimentality with statistics, adding, that he had already received enough of her lessons, and would recommend her to seek another pupil."

Claudine, though bitterly mortified, lost neither her wit nor her presence of mind. Assuming a high tone, she sternly reproved the regent for the gross insult he had offered her, and declared that vice had become so congenial to him, as to render him intolerant of the presence of any virtue. Then, having made a formal reverence to the company, she retired with as much composure as if she had been a spectator, not an actor, in the scene. On the stairs she met Dubois, the regent's powerful favorite, to whom she briefly related what had just happened. Dubois at once proposed to her to take revenge by becoming his mistress, assuring her that he would enable her to govern France in spite of the regent. The bargain was soon concluded; Claudine placed herself under the protection of Dubois, and was permitted to enjoy a large share of the ministerial authority. Her first care was to provide for her brother. He was intrusted with the delicate mission of procuring a cardinal's hat for the impious and profligate Dubois, and his success was rewarded by the rich archbishopric of Embrun, which luckily fell vacant only a few days before the death of his patron.

Among those who sought to win the favor of Claudine was a councillor of the royal court, named Lafresnaye, who spared no expense to gain her affections. Although she gave him no encouragement, he continued his exertions until he had exhausted all his fortune, and he then presented himself to her with the strange demand that she should consent to share his poverty as his mistress. On her refusal, he projected a terrible revenge. Presenting himself to her one evening when she was alone, he repeated his demand, and, on her refusal, fired a pistol into his breast. The servants rushed into the room at the sound of the report, and the dying man declared that he had been assassinated by Claudine. On this charge she was sent to the Bastile, and detained a prisoner for several weeks. Her innocence, however, was generally recognized, and she was discharged without having been subjected to the disgrace of a trial. Fontenelle made great exertions to obtain Claudine's liberation: in fact, he was himself interested in the charge, for the suicide stated, as the chief cause of her hatred, that he had surprised her with the philosopher some months before. This was strenuously denied both by Fontenelle and the lady, and it is not a very probable tale. Fontenelle was at this time in his sixty-ninth year, and was one of the most querulous hypochondriacs of the age.

After the death of Dubois, Madame de Tencin devoted all her energies to securing the promotion of her brother. She took an active part in the Jansenist controversy, and wrote several pamphlets in defence of the papal supremacy over the Gallican church, while her brother, under her directions, exercised all his influence as Archbishop of Embrun to crush the prelates who resisted the claims of Rome. For these services he was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, and the archbishopric of Lyons. Cardinal Fleury was compelled by the pope to admit him into the cabinet; but he took good care to allow the Tencins no real share in the administration.

Such a situation suited not the inclinations of the Cardinal de Tencin, or his sister. Claudine had resolved that her brother should be premier, and was bitterly mortified to find that, after Fleury's death, he was passed over for Maurepas, Argeson, and Ancelot. She sought for an ally in a new lover, and fixed her choice on the celebrated Duc de Richelieu. This nobleman was then in his thirtieth year, and was equally famous for his gallantries and his valor. Madame de Polignac and Madame de Nesle had fought a duel on his account with pistols in the Bois de Boulogne; and, as Voltaire said, "it was deemed an honor to be

dishonored by him." Richelieu was attracted to Claudine more by her political abilities than by her personal charms. Ambition was with them a more powerful bond of union than love, and their intrigues against the successive ministers of Louis XV. would furnish materials for a volume. More than ten times power eluded their grasp when success seemed most certain, until at length Claudine resolved to abandon political life, which she did with the same suddenness of decision and inflexible firmness which she displayed in entering and quitting the convent, and in breaking off her connection with the regent. Richelieu and his mistress parted on the most friendly terms. Her farewell was given in the significant words, "We have lost the power of being useful to each other."

Great was the astonishment of Paris when Madame de Tencin appeared before the world as an authoress. She published four romances, of which "The Pains of Love" is the most remarkable, since it describes her own feelings in early life. No one has depicted, with equal power, the effects of conventual seclusion on a sensitive mind, and the severe struggles of a heart divided between the emotions of love and the sentiments of devotion. From the moment of her first appearance in print, Madame de Tencin's saloons became the rendezvous of the leading philosophers and writers of the age. Montesquieu, Fontenelle, Marian, Astruc, Helvetius, and many others, were her daily guests; she applied all her energies to extend their fame and the circulation of their works, with the same ardent boldness which she had previously displayed in more questionable pursuits. "The Spirit of Laws" appeared under her patronage; she purchased two hundred copies of the work to distribute among her acquaintances; and, as no one was admitted to her saloons who had not studied the works she patronized, her recommendations had all the force of the despotic edicts of fashion. Several other ladies followed her example, and for some time the patronage of literature became almost the rage in Paris; but no saloons ever rivaled those of Madame de Tencin, because nowhere else was so much discrimination shown in the selection of guests.

An invitation to Madame de Tencin's suppers soon became an object of ambition in Paris. Literary merit was the only passport to these assemblies; rank and fortune were of no avail when this great requisite was wanting. She called the wits gathered round her "the beasts of her menagerie," and compelled them to submit to her whims and caprices. One of these was very singular. She presented each of her favorites annually with a breeches of black

velvet, and insisted that it should be worn as her livery in the evening assemblies. Proud as M. de Montesquieu was, he had to receive this strange boon like the rest. The "Gazette de France" avers that more than eight thousand yards of velvet had been thus used by the amiable canoness.

She was the first who introduced Marmontel into public life, and her patronage was of great service to him in his early struggles. "Madame de Tencin," says he, "made me recite the history of my childhood; she entered into all my interests, sympathized with my vexations, reasoned with me on my hopes and prospects, and seemed to have nothing in her head but my well-being." He was not very grateful for such kindness, which he unjustly attributed to a spirit of coquetry, rather than to generosity.

Cold and selfish as Fontenelle was, he evinced a strong attachment to Madame de Tencin, never forgetting the dangers into which she had been led by the study of his "Pastorals." On the other hand, though she showed warm friendship for the philosopher, she never would permit him to speak of a more tender sentiment. Once, when he professed the most devoted attachment, she smilingly placed her hand on his left breast, and said—

"It is not a heart you have there, but a lump of brains, such as is in your head."

For some unknown reason she never sought any intimacy with her son, the celebrated D'Alembert, though not insensible to his growing fame and reputation. He, too, showed no anxiety to frequent his mother's saloons, probably because he felt keenly the neglect with which she had treated his childhood. Their relationship was notorious in Paris, and the absence of intimacy was frequently made the subject of reproach to both. Some writers assert that Fontenelle had a large share in producing and continuing this alienation, because he dreaded that the talents of D'Alembert might endanger his ascendency in Madame de Tencin's saloons. This, however, is not very probable, for, while he sought to take the lead in her assemblies, he was still more anxious to be the literary hero at the dinners of her rival, Madame Geoffrin.

Claudine de Tencin died in 1749, unjustly calumniated by the Parisian public. It was her fate to be believed innocent during the period of her pastoral intrigues, to be accused of excessive gallantry when she was exclusively devoted to politics, and to be censured for ambition when she had abandoned all other pursuits for the enjoyment of a literary life. She was deeply regretted in her own circle; she left legacies to her chief favorites, all of whom

went into mourning as for a near relation. Even Fontenelle grieved for her, and thus characteristically expressed his sorrow: "The loss is irreparable: she knew my tastes, and always provided for me the dishes I preferred. I shall never find such delicate attention paid me at the dinner-table of Madame Geoffrin."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DEVOUT DUKE OF ORLEANS.—HIS BIRTH.—HIS PRECEPTORS.—HIS CHARACTER AS DUC DE CHARTRES.—HIS CONDUCT ON THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER.—HONORS CONFERRED UPON HIM.—THE DUC DE BOURBON.—HE SEEKS A WIFE FOR THE KING.—MADAME DE PRIE.—PROPOSAL OF CATHERINE OF RUSSIA.—MALADY OF THE KING.—THE INFANTA SENT BACK TO SPAIN.—THE BISHOP OF FREJUS.—INTRIGUE AGAINST HIM.—HIS HASTY DEPARTURE FROM PARIS, AND RECALL.—HORACE WALPOLE, THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR, AND THE BISHOP.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND THE YOUNG QUEEN.—EXILE OF THE DUC DE BOURBON, AND OF MADAME DE PRIE.—A STORY RELATING TO HER.—HER DEATH.—CARDINAL FLEURY PRIME MINISTER.—HIS GOVERNMENT.—PIOUS GALLANTRY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—CHARACTER AND ACTIONS OF THE DUC DE CHAROLAIS.—HIS SISTERS.—THE PRINCE OF CONTI.—DISAPPOINTED HOPES OF THE ORLEANS BRANCH.—THEY REVIVE.—PURSUITS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—INSTANCE OF HIS COURTESY.—HIS DEATH.

Louis Philip of Orleans, Duc de Chartres and son of the Regent, was born August 4th, 1703. His person was deformed and his intellect rather dull, so that his father used to say that he united in himself the defects of all the other princes of the blood, and that no one could believe him (the regent) capable of removing Louis XV. to make room for a prince who would be a disgrace to royalty. Little attention was paid to his education; he was sometimes intrusted to the charge of his mother, and at others, permitted to wander through the dissipated circles of the Palais Royal, and to listen to conversation not at all calculated to instruct the mind or improve the morals of a child. His tutor was the Abbé Manguin, who, though inclined to skepticism himself, filled the mind of his pupil with the most gloomy ideas on the subject of religion, and rendered him, like Philip V. of Spain, continually apprehensive of being doomed to the tortures of hell.

Another of his preceptors was the Chevalier de Bethune, from

whom he received lectures in metaphysics. The chevalier was a wild and dreamy speculator, but profoundly learned and moderately eloquent.* This gentleman had imagined a theory of the metempsychosis, in which the system of Pythagoras was strangely blended, or rather jumbled, with the doctrines of Christianity, and he taught it to his pupil, who received it with the most implicit faith. He was convinced that the souls of the virtuous are only for a moment absent from the earth, and that they reappear in new forms. He gravely related his visionary discourses with Henry IV., Louis XIV., and several other of his deceased favorites, exhibiting the most violent indignation if any one presumed to doubt his fanciful assertions.

Though introduced by his father into the council of regency, and created grand master of the orders of *Saint Lazare and Nôtre Dame du Mont Carmel*, the regent's son took no interest in politics. Villeroy, anxious either to conciliate the Duke of Orleans, or to raise suspicions against him, persuaded him to revive the office of colonel-general of infantry in favor of the Duc de Chartres. This placed at his disposal the vacant commissions in all the French regiments of infantry, except the troops of the household, and would have powerfully aided his claims in case of a disputed succession to the crown. But he was so shy and taciturn that no one ever could tell whether he ever hoped to become King of France; yet pride was so largely mixed with his reserve, that he probably believed that the death of Louis XV. might open to him the inheritance of royalty.

For the sake of fashion, and to avoid the ridicule of the young nobles and officers around him, he took an opera-dancer for his mistress; but, according to common report, he entertained her more frequently with scholastic and metaphysical dissertations, than with declarations of love. No better proof of his perfect nullity under the regency could be given, than the almost total omission of any notice of his existence in the voluminous correspondence of his grandmother, Madame.

The Duc de Chartres was in Paris with his mistress when he heard the intelligence of the regent's apoplectic fit. He set out immediately for Versailles, and on the road received the account

* He is said by the editor of D'Argenson's Memoirs to have been the author of a "History of Charles VI., in nine volumes, published under the pseudonyme of Mademoiselle de Lussan." It abounds in those strange tales of sympathies, antipathies, spectral visits, and supernatural communications, which seem a compound of the superstitions of the Middle Ages and the reveries of the Rosicrucians.

of his father's fearful death.* The calumnies which persecuted Philip of Orleans during his life were revived even on this occasion. It was said, and for some hours believed, that he had taken by mistake some poisoned coffee, which he had prepared for the king. So strong was the suspicion, that, when the Duc de Chartres reached Versailles, he found himself shunned by all the courtiers except the Ducs de Noailles and de Guiche,† who tendered him their services, and the aid of their dependents. He received them as two insidious intruders who had some evil design upon him, hastily passed them by, and, ascending to his mother's apartments, informed her that he had met two persons who had set a dangerous trap for him, but that he had known how to disappoint their cunning. The duchess had great trouble in convincing him that he had been guilty of a piece of foolish impertinence; but this did not prevent frequent exhibitions of the same want of knowledge of the world, during the time that he remained at Versailles waiting for the funeral. He refused admission to his father's nearest friend, the Duc de Saint Simon; and when at length etiquette compelled him to receive the visit, he exhibited a silent moroseness which soon put an end to the interview. The Duc de Bourbon, though prime minister, and a prince of the blood, was treated with similar haughtiness and reserve. Many persons remarked that the young duke was playing the part of a king before his time.

Louis XV. paid a visit of condolence to the Duchess-Dowager of Orleans, and granted her an increase of her pension, together with several honorable privileges usually reserved for queens. He also visited the Duc de Chartres; or, as we must henceforth call him, the Duke of Orleans, and gave him permission to establish his household on the footing of heir-presumptive to the throne. The Chevalier de Conflans was nominated his first gentleman of the chamber, the Chevalier d'Epinay, the captain of his guards, and the Chevalier de Clermont, his first esquire.

These high honors gave great offence to the Duc de Bourbon. He deemed it a hardship to be obliged to recognize the precedency of the Duke of Orleans, who took several occasions rather offensively to assert his superior privileges as first prince of the blood. For instance, he applied to the king in person for a suite of apart-

* See the admirable scene in the third chapter of Dumas's "Daughter of the Regent;" though a pure fiction in the details, all the outlines are justified by the cotemporary records.

† Our readers will remember that De Guiche had given effective aid in securing unlimited authority for the regent.

ments at Versailles, though they had previously been offered to him by the minister; he received the resignation of M. d'Argenson, which was clearly a violation of official etiquette; and he insisted on making his reports as colonel-general of infantry to the king himself without the intervention of the council. In revenge, the Duc de Bourbon revived the old project of the conspiracy of Cellamare, and took some steps to have Philip V. of Spain declared next heir to the crown in the then probable event of the death of Louis XV. without issue; though this was a project he had strenuously denounced under the regency, and had himself contributed to punish with his usual brutality. The events in Spain recorded at the close of the fifth chapter disconcerted these intrigues, and in the mean time the Duke of Orleans greatly strengthened his interest and influence by contracting a marriage with the Princess of Baden-Baden. His mother, who still retained all the haughtiness of a daughter of Louis XIV., and regarded her legitimation as equivalent to legitimacy, was the person who dictated this choice. She sent M. d'Argenson to Rastadt to conduct the necessary negotiation, which involved so many points of difficulty, that he was compelled to return to Paris for fresh instructions. On his way home, he passed through Strasburg, where he visited Stanislaus, the deposed King of Poland, and his beautiful daughter, the Princess Mary Leczinska.* When D'Argenson returned to Versailles, he related in every company the virtues and the charms of Leczinska so fervently, that the Duke of Orleans was anxious to have her for his wife in preference to the Princess of Baden. He yielded, however, to the urgency of his mother, and the marriage took place in May, 1724.

The Duke of Bourbon became every day more alarmed at the prospect of the Duke of Orleans ascending the throne of France. Louis XV. was still in feeble health. His engagement with the infanta of Spain, who was yet only six years old, put off for at least ten years the chance of an heir; and while he assured the Spanish court that he was making preparations to celebrate the marriage with the infanta, he sent secret emissaries to every part of Europe to select a suitable queen for Louis XV. It appeared from their reports, that there were ninety-nine princesses in Eu-

* "The cradle of Mary Leczinska had been rocked amidst the storms of civil war. On one occasion, for example, when still a child in arms, she was forgotten and lost in a hurried retreat; and at length, after an anxious search, was found by her father lying in the trough of a village stable."—Lord Mahon, vol. ii. ch. 13.

rope marriageable, but of these only twenty-five were Catholics, and amongst them the most eligible appeared to be Mademoiselle de Vermandois, the duke's own sister, who was five years older than the king.*

All the duke's actions were guided by his profligate and impetuous mistress Madame de Prie. To her he communicated his project; but she insisted on previously visiting the lady, in order to sound her intentions. Accordingly, under a feigned name, she visited Mademoiselle de Vermandois in her convent, and adroitly contrived to turn the conversation on herself. The young lady, who was very haughty and very pious, expressed the greatest horror at the notoriously bad character of her brother's mistress. Madame de Prie could hardly contain herself; she cut short the interview, and as she went out whispered to her companion, "that young lady shall never be a queen."†

As there were reasonable apprehensions of the resentment of the King of Spain for the insult about to be offered to the infanta, it was resolved to secure the support of England, whose power at that time was believed to be irresistible; and for this reason Madame de Prie formed the rather whimsical project of uniting the French king to the Princess Anne of England, the daughter of the Prince of Wales. The Count de Broglie, the French ambassador in London, was intrusted with the management of this negotiation; and so confident was Madame de Prie of success, that she caused the affair to be announced in the gazettes as a matter already concluded. But the English ministry saw the indecency and danger of an abjuration of Protestantism by the granddaughter of a monarch who had been raised to the crown as the defender of the Protestant faith, and the king declared that the religious objection was insuperable.

Soon after, an offer was made to the Duc de Bourbon which he might have conceived to be advantageous. Catherine I., Empress of Russia, finding herself insecure on the throne, to which she had succeeded on the death of Peter the Great,‡ hoped to be able to strengthen herself by an alliance with France. She offered to Louis the hand of her second daughter, Elizabeth, engaging that she should embrace the Catholic religion, and that the ports of Russia should be opened to France on the most favorable

* The duke's daughter, Mademoiselle de Sens, was, like the Spanish infanta, a mere child.

† Mademoiselle de Vermandois subsequently took the vail, and died in a convent.

‡ He died February 8, 1725.

conditions. But the value of a Russian alliance was not then understood in France, and the offer was respectfully declined.

In the midst of these negotiations, a new alarm accelerated the resolutions of the Duc de Bourbon and Madame de Prie. On the 20th of February, 1725, the young king was attacked by a violent malady, which, for more than forty-eight hours, threatened to baffle the skill of the physicians. The courtiers crowded to the apartments of the Duchess-Dowager of Orleans, while the saloons of the prime minister were deserted. The Duke of Bourbon now believed himself on the point of being delivered over to his rival and enemy. So long as the crisis lasted, he was to be seen running like a maniac about the palace, giving the most contradictory orders, and forming the most dangerous projects. When the king began to exhibit a prospect of recovery, the duke resolved on finding him a queen without delay.

We have seen that the duke, conscious that he was likely to provoke the resentment of Spain by a wanton insult, had sought to strengthen himself by some new alliance, and wished to unite the young king to a princess of a powerful reigning family. Such a policy did not suite Madame de Prie: she wished that the queen should be a person raised by herself, and bound to her by every tie of gratitude. She therefore fixed on Mary Leczinska, daughter, as we have said, of the exiled king, Stanislaus (then residing in Alsace, on a moderate pension allowed by France). A private letter from the Duc de Bourbon announced the welcome intelligence to Stanislaus;* the Duc d'Antin and the Marquis de Beauvais then made the demand in form, and, on the 2d of September, the marriage was celebrated in the cathedral of Strasburg, the Duke of Orleans acting as proxy for the king.

Nothing could exceed the indignation of the Spaniards when they heard that the infanta was about to be sent back. The king and queen expressed their indignation in the most unmeasured and passionate terms.† The French envoy and all the French consuls were ordered to quit Spain. Mademoiselle de Beaujolais and the Queen-Dowager of Spain were sent back; they were ex-

* When he received the letter, he rushed to his daughter's apartment, and, on entering it, exclaimed: "Let us fall on our knees, and return thanks to God!"—"What!" exclaimed the princess, "is it possible that you have been restored to the throne of Poland?"—"Ah! my child," he replied, "Heaven is still more favorable to us: you are Queen of France!"

† The queen exclaimed to the French envoy, the Abbé de Livry, "All the Bourbons are a race of devils!" Then suddenly recollecting that her husband was of that house, she turned to him and said, "Except your majesty."

changed for the infanta* on the Bidassoa, with sentiments very different from those which animated the parties when they had been exchanged for the first time, three years before.

The new queen seemed to have some presentiments of her future unhappiness; she shrunk from the honors which were tendered to her on her way from Strasburg to Fontainebleau, where she was to be united to Louis, and exhibited much timidity when first introduced to the king. The Cardinal de Rohan pronounced the nuptial benediction; but in every other respect the ceremonial was less splendid than was usual in royal marriages. Aware that she owed her elevation to Madame de Prie, Mary Leczinska exhibited the warmest gratitude to that lady and to her protector, the Duc de Bourbon. This partiality prevented her from becoming popular; France, at the time, was enduring the pressure of a scarcity almost amounting to famine, and the people laid all the blame of their misery on the negligence and extravagance of the administration. Madame de Prie was accused of buying up corn, and retailing it to the poor at an extravagant price, and a similar charge was brought against the Duc de Bourbon; both, indeed, were notorious for their avarice and their want of principle, which they evinced by setting up for sale every office that became vacant. It is probable that the queen was unacquainted with their characters, else she would hardly have bestowed upon them an amount of confidence far greater than gratitude required.

The next incident which excited public attention was that the Duke of Orleans exerted all his influence to secure the acquittal of M. le Blanc, whose greatest crime appears to have been the displeasure he had given Madame de Prie, by continuing to be the constant lover of her mother. The trial was vexatiously protracted; but at length M. le Blanc was acquitted, to the great delight of every one in France, except the prime minister and his mistress. Great praise was bestowed on the energy which the Duke of Orleans manifested; it was the first and the last time he showed any interest in affairs of state.

A more formidable enemy to the Duke of Bourbon was the Bishop of Frejus, by whom he had been originally elevated to the office of premier. The duke was very jealous of the influence the bishop possessed over the mind of the king, who always required the presence of his former tutor at the royal councils. The queen, instigated by Madame de Prie and Paris Duverney, the youngest of the four brothers, whose strange history has been

* The infanta subsequently married Don Joseph, King of Portugal.

already related, aided the duke in his endeavors to remove the bishop. The king, unsuspicious of the plot, received his ministers one day in the queen's closet, and when the bishop came, as usual, to give his assistance in the royal cabinet, he found that the affairs of state had been already settled. Perceiving the danger with which he was menaced, he wrote an eloquent and pathetic letter to the king, in which he bade a fond farewell to his royal pupil, and announced his intention to spend the rest of his life in retirement. Having delivered this letter to Niert, the king's first valet-de-chambre, in whom he could place implicit confidence, he retired to a convent of Sulpicians at Issy, where he had formerly found shelter on the disgrace of the Marshal de Villeroy.

On his return to his private closet, the king received the letter, which overwhelmed him with grief, for he believed himself abandoned by the only friend on whom he could rely with certainty. Tears flowed down his cheeks, and he passed into another room to hide his emotion from his servants. Niert immediately sought the Duc de Montemart, first gentleman of the royal chamber, to whom he communicated the circumstances as they had occurred. The duke hastened to the king, found him overwhelmed with grief, and had some difficulty in persuading him to avow the cause of his sorrow. Montemart then, assuming a tone of zeal for his master and contempt for the minister, exclaimed, "What, sire! are not you master? Command the Duc de Bourbon to send instantly for the Bishop of Frejus, and you will again be united to your friend." Perceiving that the king hesitated, Montemart offered to convey the royal commands to the prime minister, and the king joyously accepted his services. Nothing could exceed the consternation of Bourbon when he received the message. He attempted to raise delays and difficulties; but Montemart, who felt that, if he failed now, he should be exposed to ministerial vengeance, and regarded as the author of the message of which he was the bearer, insisted so strongly on immediate obedience to the king's commands, that the duke was forced to comply. Montemart then sent off the important order by an officer of the royal guards, on whose fidelity he felt assured he could rely.

After the express had been dispatched, Bourbon, Madame de Prie, and their confidants held a consultation to deliberate on their position. It was proposed by some to arrest the bishop on the road between Issy and Versailles, to send him off to a distant province, where he might be detained in exile by a *lettre de cachet*, and to persuade the king that he had refused to return. It was

bold advice, and, had it been adopted, would probably have succeeded. It would have been easy to induce the king to believe that the bishop had become weary of the turmoils of the court, and that he had of his own accord sought retirement. Nobody would have dared to contradict the prime minister. The king, who had recently evinced an extraordinary passion for the chase, might have been diverted from politics by a succession of amusements, and by the blandishments of the young queen, who was wholly devoted to Madame de Prie, and the absent would soon have been forgotten. Fortunately for France, then suffering under the worst administration known in its history, whilst the cabal was still deliberating, the Bishop of Frejus arrived at Versailles, and was received by the king as a father.

Horace Walpole, the English ambassador, and brother of Sir Robert Walpole, at this period prime minister of England, aware of the influence the Bishop of Frejus possessed over the king's mind, carefully courted his friendship, probably anticipating his future elevation to power. He was the only person who, on the first news of the bishop's flight, had hastened to visit him at Issy, and had there tendered him all the support and influence of the British government. As this visit was paid before the order of recall arrived, the prelate, though prone to suspicion from his age, character, and experience, felt the firmest conviction of Walpole's sincerity, and, during the whole course of his subsequent administration, exerted himself to preserve uninterrupted the peace between France and England.

Although the Duke of Orleans had taken no part in these proceedings, he was far from looking on as an unconcerned spectator. The unprovoked hostility shown to him and his family by the Duke of Bourbon, for whom his father, as regent, had done so much, rankled in his breast; and, in spite of his cold temperament, made him anxious to thwart the imperious minister. He felt keenly the insult and wrong offered to his sisters, Mademoiselle de Beaujolais and the Queen-Dowager of Spain, the consequence of Bourbon's sending back the Spanish infanta. He was more secretly but more naturally irritated by the king's marriage, which he and everybody else knew to have been designedly hastened to defeat his claims as heir-presumptive; and for all these reasons he gave a zealous though not a very active support to the cause of the Bishop of Frejus.

The Duke of Orleans had felt from the first an affectionate attachment to the queen; and Mary Leczinska, whose character

was not unlike his own, admitted him to her confidence and friendship. He took advantage of this favor to enlighten the queen respecting the real character of Madame de Prie, whose open profligacy disgusted all Paris, and whose frequent infidelities to the Duke of Bourbon were notorious to everybody but the duke himself. It was generally believed, and apparently with very good reason, that, through the agency of the Duke of Orleans, the Bishop of Frejus succeeded in reconciling the queen to the dismissal of her favorite; and that it was to his efforts that the removal of the minister to whom she was indebted for her elevation to the throne, was effected.

Though no one could doubt the sentiments with which Bourbon and Frejus regarded each other, it was amusing to see the extraordinary respect which the duke affected for the bishop. The latter enjoyed his triumph meekly; he scrupulously accorded the duke all the homage due to his birth, rank, and station; but, under the guise of this apparent humility, he concealed a steadfast determination to accomplish his downfall. Madame de Prie, strongly attached to the duke's fortunes, but not at all to his person, exerted herself to secure the support of the prelate. She assured him that the Duke of Bourbon had the highest respect for his character and integrity; and she declared that, though the world declared her to be the duke's mistress, she was nothing more than his friend, and that she had often given him judicious counsels, which unfortunately he had not followed. But she found it easier to deceive a young duke than an old prelate. The bishop affected to believe the lady, and she deemed herself most secure at the moment everything was prepared for her dismissal.

The catastrophe was marked by a display of unnecessary hypocrisy—a piece of king-craft in which Louis XV. was a remarkable adept. On the 11th of June, 1726, the king went to a large hunting-party at Rambouillet. Before setting out, he sent for the Duke of Bourbon, and said to him with a most gracious smile, "I pray you, my cousin, not to make us wait for you at supper." The royal cortège had not quite cleared the precincts of Versailles, when a captain of the guards placed in the duke's hands a royal letter, containing only the following words: "I command you, under pain of contumacy, to retire at once to Chantilly, and to remain there until further orders." The prince was compelled to obey on the instant. He was not allowed to hold communication with anybody, and a detachment of the guards escorted him to his place of exile. After this disgrace, he never recovered any

political importance, but remained in obscurity until the time of his death, which did not take place until January 27, 1740.

A *lettre de cachet* was sent to Madame de Prie, commanding her to retire to her estates at Courbe-Epine, in Normandy. She proceeded to Paris, where she lingered two or three days, hoping that the influence of the queen might obtain a revocation, but exhibiting no sorrow at her separation from the Duc de Bourbon, for whose loss she easily consoled herself with other lovers.* But renewed injunctions from Versailles compelled her to hasten her journey, and she set out with strong hopes of being speedily recalled; but, finding herself soon forgotten, she fell into a fit of melancholy, and died in a few months.†

When the news of the fall of the Duke of Bourbon reached Paris, it excited inexpressible transports of joy. The police had great difficulty in preventing the bonfires and illuminations which were immediately prepared. The two elder of the brothers Paris were exiled, and the youngest was sent to the Bastile. Even the queen had to bear her share in the crisis. She received from her husband a letter at once imperious and cruel; it contained only the following words:—

* "An hour before she set out, she went into her closet, and sent for an obscure lover to whom she wished to bid farewell. The twain were apparently too much occupied with each other, or too pressed for time, to think of shutting the windows; so that several persons from the window of a neighboring house had an opportunity of witnessing their tender adieux. They did not keep the secret; but as they were too distant to recognize the features of the favored lover of the duke, and far from suspecting that he was one of her husband's clerks, they bestowed the honor and the jests on a young friend of mine, the only person who dined with her that evening, and who has often told me the story."—*Mémoires de Duclos.*

† The firmness of Madame de Prie was not long sustained. Scarcely had she reached Courbe Epine, when she learned that her place of lady-in-waiting on the queen had been given to the Marchioness d'Alincourt. She then saw clearly that she was expelled from the court, never to return. Despair seized her; chagrin consumed her, without her having the consolation of being able to persuade the physician whom she summoned, and Silva, the duke's physician, whose consultations she received, that she was really sick. They always pretended that her illness was merely vapors or nervous attacks—for nervousness was a disease then coming into fashion, and taking the place of vapors and the other imaginary complaints with which doctors hide their ignorance. They doubtless knew not the symptoms of a death from despair; for they continued to treat Madame de Prie as a mere hypochondriacal patient until the day of her death, which took place in her twenty-ninth year, after she had languished fifteen months in exile.

"MADAME—I entreat you, and, if necessary, I command you, to do everything the Bishop of Frejus will enjoin in my name, as if I had commanded you myself.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

The incapacity and the distaste of the Duke of Orleans for public life prevented the Bishop of Frejus from offering him the post of prime minister, though it had been the great object of his policy to place that office in the hands of a prince of the blood, whom he could in secret manage and control. Under these circumstances, the bishop—soon after better known as Cardinal Fleury,—though at the advanced age of seventy-three, assumed the office of premier.* Thus began the best administration France was destined to possess through the whole course of the eighteenth century. The finances were restored to something like order; trade revived, manufactures were established, and the agriculture of France became the first in Europe.† Fleury never entirely forgave the queen for her alliance with the Bourbon faction, though she made several efforts to gain his confidence. Mary Leczinska, in fact, had as little taste for politics as the Duke of Orleans himself, and, like that prince, she was excessively devout, going from convent to convent to perform devotional exercises. Probably, a knowledge of the friendship between the queen and the pious duke was one of the reasons which induced Fleury to exclude him from the ministry. At a subsequent period, when Mary Leczinska had too much reason to lament the studied neglect and open infidelities of her husband, she frequently lamented in the private circle of her friends, that she had not been simple Duchess of Orleans,—as there was at one time a

* "If ever," says Voltaire, "there was any one happy on earth, it was Fleury. He was considered one of the most amiable and social of men till seventy-three, and at that age, usually one of retirement, came to be respected as one of the wisest. From 1726 to 1742 everything throve in his hands, and till almost a nonagenarian, his mind continued clear, discerning, and fit for business."

† An accomplished traveler writes from Dijon, in 1739: "France is so much improved, it would not be known to be the same country we passed through twenty years ago. Everything I see speaks in praise of Cardinal Fleury. The roads are all mended, and such good care taken against robbers, that you may cross the country with your purse in your hand. . . . . The French are more changed than their roads; instead of pale yellow faces wrapped up in blankets, as we saw them, the villages are all filled with fresh-colored lusty peasants in good clothes and clean linen. It is incredible what an air of plenty and content is over the whole country."

chance of her having been,—instead of Queen of France. "Assuredly," she said, "we should have been a most happy and well-matched pair. Whilst my spouse was discussing theology with the fathers at St. Genevieve, I should have been performing my devotions at the convent of the Carmelites."*

According to D'Argenson, whose memoirs give the fullest account of the pious Duke of Orleans, this prince fully reciprocated the queen's feelings. One day, after he had talked for an immense length of time with the queen, while no one was permitted to overhear the subject of their conversation, he suddenly threw himself on his knees and spent several minutes in prayer, earnestly supplicating God to pardon the thoughts which had presented themselves to his imagination. The queen used to take great pleasure in relating this anecdote, which she described as an unrivaled specimen of gallantry united to devotion.

Though a member of the royal council during the whole of Fleury's administration, the Duke of Orleans was so much offended at not having been appointed successor to the Duke of Bourbon, that for some time he refused to take any share in the affairs of state. He believed that the administration belonged to him by hereditary right, and his incapacity neither diminished his pride, his jealousy, nor his ambition. Fleury consoled the prince with the prospect of becoming his successor, at a date which, according to all human probability, seemed not likely to be very distant. Orleans appears to have been reconciled to the cardinal by this adroit suggestion of hope; indeed, if a prince of the blood must succeed to this high office, he alone had pretensions, slight as they were, to the situation.

The Duc de Bourbon was not only an exile, but the king had vowed never again to admit him to court; and when his mother, the duchess-dowager, besought the king to allow her son to come to Paris, for the purpose of consulting the physicians of the metropolis on the state of his health, Louis XV. refused her with a laconic sternness not very consistent with royal politeness. By the people of France, and by the citizens of Paris, he was so thoroughly detested, that his restoration to the ministry would probably have been the signal for a general insurrection.

But bad as the Duc de Bourbon was, his brother, the Count de Charolais, was infinitely worse. He excited public execration by

* "This queen makes no more of a dozen masses in a morning, than Hotspur did of as many Lowland Scotsmen for his breakfast!"—Mr. Robinson to Mr. Delafaye, September 16, 1725. *Hardwick State Papers*, vol. ii.

acts of such ferocious atrocity, that they seem to belong to the worst tyrants of antiquity. Like all the nobles who had been educated under the regency, he abandoned himself to the wildest and most profligate debauchery, which, however, did not satisfy him, unless it was accompanied by the most savage cruelty. He murdered one of his servants, whose wife, fondly attached to her husband, had refused to receive his addresses. He fired at the slaters employed on the tops of houses, and, when he brought down one of his human game, he hastened to gratify himself by watching his last agonies. Tardy justice was at length aroused; the Parliament threatened him with a prosecution, and he hastened to secure himself by obtaining a royal pardon for his past offences. The king granted it with obvious reluctance, saying, "Here it is; but pardon will be still more readily granted to him who slays you."

The sisters in this delectable family were hardly better than the brothers. Two of them were abbesses of monasteries, very rigid and ostentatious in their devotional exercises, but cruel tyrants over the unfortunate nuns subject to their sway. Both exerted the most perverse ingenuity in discovering means of torturing these poor victims of the cloister. Another had married the last Prince of Conti. She was suspected as a wife, and reproached as a mother for having trained her daughter to habits of the most vicious indulgence. Finally, Mademoiselle de Charolais, after she had attained the mature age of forty, had exerted herself, though unsuccessfully, to gain the affections of the king, and when she failed, took a malicious pleasure in diverting his attention from the queen to some one or other of his numerous mistresses.

The Prince de Conti succeeded his father in 1727. He had been educated chiefly by his mother, a princess who thoroughly hated her husband, and had hastened his death by the violence of her temper. The young prince entered on public life at the age of eighteen, and even then distinguished himself by acts of cruelty and debauchery which seemed to announce that he would be the rival of the Count de Charolais. He, however, became reformed as he advanced in years, and at the close of his life might be cited as an honorable example of a studious prince and an enlightened patron of literature and the fine arts.

But, though the Duke of Orleans surpassed the other princes of the blood in moral character, he was utterly ignorant of the affairs of the administration. Cardinal Dubois had been very anxious to train him in his bureau; but the pride of the prince revolted at

the bare notion of serving under a man of mean birth; and, as his father the regent would not admit him to his cabinet, he lost the opportunity of serving an apprenticeship to statesmanship.* Still, he was not quite a cipher in the cabinet. He was a zealous advocate of peace and alliance with England, and more hostile even than his father had been to the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon. No one of the Orleans family kept a more vigilant watch over the chances which might open the succession to the crown of France to his own branch of the Bourbons: to him, indeed, may be attributed the tenacity with which three successive Dukes of Orleans clung to this hope, until the last finally grasped the prize; and in less than twenty years had the mortification of finding it wrested from his hands.

The rival hopes of the Spanish line of the Bourbons, and of the Duke of Orleans, were not a little dashed when, on the 4th of December, 1729, Mary Leczinska gave birth to a dauphin; she had previously become the mother of three daughters, two being twins. This circumstance, and the premature death of his duchess, tended to alienate the Duke of Orleans from public affairs. He devoted himself to the study of theology; and, to trace it to its source, rendered himself complete master of those oriental languages which are most closely connected with biblical literature. He believed that God had intrusted him with the mission of converting heretics to Catholicity, and he wrote several controversial treatises remarkable for great extent of learning, and for a closeness of logic not unfrequently degenerating into dialectic quibbling. Thomas Aquinas was his favorite model, and, like his prototype, the duke felt more pleasure in scholastic and metaphysical subtleties than in the development of any great principle. He used to pass entire days at the convent of St. Genevieve, disputing with the erudite fathers of that monastery on the true sense of some Hebrew or Chaldee passage; on the punctuation of a verse in the Bible; or on the true locality of the terrestrial Paradise. Another pastime of his was to aid the parochial clergymen in catechising the children, and to take part in every religious procession. While the Duke of Orleans was thus innocently, if not usefully employed, an event occurred which once more opened to his family a prospect of succeeding to the throne.† Mary

* Dubois attempted to bribe Mongault, one of the prince's preceptors, who had great influence over him, to induce the prince to serve under the cardinal. Mongault sternly refused, and found friends sufficiently powerful to shelter him from the vengeance of Dubois.

† D'Argenson says, "It was impossible for any one to be more keenly

Leczinska, a lady naturally of a cold temperament, began to feel an alienation from her husband, and availed herself of every possible pretext to exclude him from her society. When she admitted him to her chamber, she reproached him with his habits of intoxication, and declared that the smell of wine on his breath made her sick. These matrimonial causes of quarrel were betrayed to the courtiers by the royal valets Bachelier and Lebel: every effort was made to exasperate the king, and induce him to take a mistress, and no longer to live "like a mere citizen." Their intrigues might have failed, had not the queen one evening peremptorily refused to receive the king, and persevered in her negative, though three messengers in succession were sent to change her resolution. Louis, in his rage, swore that all the relations of husband and wife were at an end between him and the queen for ever. The decision was final, for Louis XV., once offended, never forgot his anger, and never forgave the object of his indignation. Thus, once again, the frail life of a feeble dauphin was the sole obstacle between the throne and the ambitious hopes of the House of Orleans.

In 1741, the Duke of Orleans, after a long absence, made his appearance at court.* His object was to obtain the hand of the king's second daughter, the Princess Henrietta, for his son, the Duc de Chartres. This marriage, by bringing the House of Orleans into closer contact with the throne, would have been a new guarantee to Europe for the renunciation of Philip V. The Duke of Orleans attached great importance to it, and, attributing the refusal he received to the influence of Cardinal Fleury, he vowed that he

sensitive than he was on the conventional right to the throne secured for the House of Orleans by the treaty of Utrecht, to the prejudice of the right of birth in the Spanish line of the Bourbons."

* His ignorance of what had occurred during his long absence led him into some ludicrous errors, and his total want of politeness rendered his presence peculiarly unpleasant to Louis XV., who piqued himself on his gallantry. We find the following curious anecdote in the Memoirs of Maurepas: "The Duke of Orleans, the son of the regent, being one day at church with the queen and the princess, Mademoiselle de Clermont, not being able to find a place, explained her difficulty to him. 'I know very well where my own place is,' replied the duke, 'but I cannot tell where yours may be.' Mademoiselle de Clermont, astonished and confused, prepared to seek a seat in one of the lower stalls; but the king, who had witnessed the occurrence, invited her to come up, and placed her between the dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, and consequently above the latter. The king, then turning to the duke, said, 'It is only sons and grandsons of France who have the privilege of being impolite to ladies.' The duke looked sulky, but made no reply."

would never come near the court so long as that prelate remained minister. The Duc de Chartres was soon after married to the Princess of Conti, and this union put an end to the feud which had so long severed the Houses of Orleans and Bourbon.

The Duke of Orleans passed the remainder of his life with the erudite fathers of Sainte Genevieve, whose Jansenist opinions he had firmly adopted. So fierce were religious disputes at this time, that the curate of St. Etienne refused to administer the last sacraments to the duke on his death-bed; the prince, however, availed himself of the services of his own almoner, and forbade any prosecution of the curate. He died February 4, 1752, bequeathing all his manuscripts to the Jacobin fathers, who, like himself, were devoted to Thomas Aquinas. He also founded a professorship of biblical Hebrew at the Sorbonne, "in order," as he declared, "that heretics should not be the only Christians who studied the Holy Scriptures in their original languages."

CHAPTER XXIV.

LOUIS PHILIPPE, GRANDSON OF THE REGENT.—HIS EARLY CAREER.—IMMORALITY OF LOUIS XV.—MADAME D'ETOILES, AFTERWARDS MARCHIONESS DE POMPADOUR.—PRIVATE THEATRICALS AT VERSAILLES.—MEMBERS OF THE COMPANY.—THEIR RULES.—VOLTAIRE'S PANEGYRIC.—ITS CONSEQUENCES.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS "CASTLES IN SPAIN."—ATTEMPT UPON THE LIFE OF LOUIS XV. BY DAMIEN.—HIS PUNISHMENT.—M. DE LANDSMATH AND THE KING OF FRANCE.—DEATH OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR.—DEATH OF THE DAUPHIN, AND OF THE DAUPHINESS.—MADEMOISELLE DE GENTHIEVRE AND THE DUC DE CHARTRES.—THE DUCHESS DE GRAMMONT.—THE DUC DE CHOISEUL.—MADEMOISELLE LANGE.—HER INFLUENCE OVER LOUIS XV.—MARRIAGE OF MARIA ANTOINETTE TO THE DAUPHIN, AFTERWARDS LOUIS XVI.—FRIGHTFUL ACCIDENT AT THE FESTIVITIES ON THE OCCASION.—DISGRACE OF THE DUC DE CHOISEUL.—ILLNESS AND DEATH OF LOUIS XV.—ORATION OF THE ABBE ST. MAURY.

Louis Philippe of Orleans, the son of Louis of Orleans and the Princess of Baden, was born at Versailles, May 12, 1725. The eccentricities of his father did not permit him to receive a very perfect education; and, as he exhibited at an early period a passion for military life, he was appointed, at the age of thirteen,

to the command of a regiment of infantry, called after his own name. He served as general of cavalry in the campaign in Flanders, in 1742; and in the following campaign he was entrusted with the charge of the household troops. At the battle of Dettingen, where the French suffered a severe defeat through the unskillfulness of Marshal de Noailles, the duke had a horse killed under him, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. He was present at the battles of Fontenoy, Harcourt, and Lawfeld, besides taking an active part in the sieges which have established the military reputation of Marshal Saxe.

In December, 1743, he married the Princess Louise Henriette de Bourbon-Conti. This union was for a few years attended with happiness; but, after having given birth to a son and daughter, the duchess indulged in scenes of licentiousness, which scandalized even the profligate court of Louis XV. It was to escape from witnessing misconduct, which he had not the energy to prevent, that the Duke of Orleans rejoined the army at the commencement of the "Seven Years' War." He served under Marshal d'Estrees, in the campaign of 1757, and is said to have contributed greatly to the brilliant victory obtained by the marshal over the English at Hastenbeck, and to have merited as much glory as his grandsire at Cassel. But this was the last of his fields. Louis XV., acting on the hereditary jealousy with which the elder branch of the Bourbons regarded the House of Orleans, refused to employ him any longer in the army. He returned to the court, which he disliked, and thenceforth was a spectator rather than an actor in the political vicissitudes of his age. So retired was his life, that his name is scarcely mentioned by historians or writers of memoirs; but there were some changes in which he took a more active part than is generally suspected, and we shall therefore have to record those events in the disgraceful reign of Louis XV. which altered the personal position of the duke, or which changed the dynastic relations of the House of Orleans. But we have found great reason to lament the scantiness of materials for the private history of the seventeenth century. St. Simon left no successor; and the ponderous collections of Soulavié are so destitute of authority, that no statement in them can be received without the scrutiny of a rigid examination.

After his quarrel with the queen, Louis XV. had taken for his mistress the Countess de Mailly; her sisters, envious of her position, sought a share in the royal favor, and three of them obtained it. On the death of one of them, a fourth sister was base

enough to supply her place; and Louis would have added a fifth to his harem, had she not steadfastly refused so degrading an offer. In 1744, the king, having fallen dangerously ill at Metz, was seized with conscientious scruples, and, at the urgent request of his spiritual attendants, consented to dismiss these precious sisters. But after his recovery he returned to Paris, and immediately commenced negotiations for the recall of his favorites, who insisted on a guarantee against such another ignominious expulsion as they had endured at Metz; but, while they hesitated, the king fell into the hands of a new mistress, who had the advantage of being supported by the whole influence of the Orleans family, and who, having acquired the powers of a queen in everything but the name, became the scourge of France and of Europe: this was Madame Le Normand d'Etoiles, better known by her subsequent title of the Marchioness de Pompadour.

Madame Le Normand d'Etoiles was the wife of a sub-farmer of the finances, and the daughter of a citizen named Poisson, who had been butcher to the Hospital des Invalides, and afterwards became a bankrupt. Her husband's uncle negotiated the marriage of the beautiful Jane Poisson with his nephew; he further presented half his fortune to the bride on the day of her marriage, and promised the remainder at his death—no inconsiderable dowry—for he held the lucrative post of farmer general.* She was therefore rich, and able to go to a large expense in villás, dress, and equipage. She purchased a chateau near the forest of Lénart, where the king frequently enjoyed the pleasures of the chase. Madame d'Etoiles took advantage of these hunting parties to attract the notice of the king and court. She appeared at them sometimes in a rose-colored robe and azure phaeton; at others in an azure robe and rose-colored phaeton; she affected to wear the costume of the goddess Diana, a character to which she had many claims, derived from personal charms, but few from the moral qualities ascribed to that goddess. She soon succeeded in attracting the notice of the king, who showed his admiration of her by sending her presents of game. At length, the jealousy of the sisters was roused by these attempts, and they warned her that, if she continued to appear at the royal hunting

* Voltaire, being asked to tell a story illustrative of the greatest excess of rapacity and peculation, began: "There was once a farmer general——," and then stopped. Being asked to proceed with his story, he replied, "Having once named a farmer general, there is nothing more to be said upon the subject."

parties, the consequences might be more dangerous than she imagined.

While negotiations were in progress for the recall of the sisters, a ball was given to the king at the Hôtel de Ville, by the municipality of Paris,* and thither Madame d'Etoiles went in masquerade habit, which was then the custom. As the disgrace of the sisters was generally known, crowds of ladies, anxious for the post supposed to be vacant, crowded round the king, and perplexed him with their airs, gestures, and observations. While he stood in silent confusion, Madame d'Etoiles approached, and, in a tremulous voice, recalled to his memory the hunting scenes in the forest of Lénart. Perceiving that the king listened with interest, she continued the conversation until she felt assured that there could be no possible doubt of her identity, and then affected to mingle with the crowd, having first let fall her handkerchief. The king took it up with an air of passionate gallantry, and, as she was already too distant to present it to her, he threw it towards her in the most tender and respectful manner. "The handkerchief is thrown!" was the instantaneous exclamation of the whole assembly, though no one but the parties themselves knew anything of the person selected.

Madame d'Etoiles refused to receive the visits of the king at her own house, declaring that she dreaded too much the jealousy of her husband, who, indeed, was passionately attached to her. Louis, therefore, assigned her a suite of apartments in the steward's house at Versailles. From thence she was speedily removed to the palace, and was formally installed as royal mistress. Thus commenced the reign of an intriguing favorite who sought, by pleasing Louis XV., to rule the kingdom, and who succeeded in the attempt, notwithstanding her mean birth, narrow intellect, and defective education. To hide the lowness of her origin, the king created her, by letters patent, Marchioness of Pompadour, a title which had become extinct some years before, and, though she was in no way related to this ancient family of the Limousin, she did not hesitate to assume their armorial bearings on her carriages.

The Princess de Conti, mother-in-law of the Duke of Orleans, was the first to recognize the power of the new favorite. She

* It was given in honor of the dauphin's marriage with Maria Theresa Antoinette, infanta of Spain, which took place February 23, 1745. As the dauphiness lived but one year, the epoch is only valuable as fixing the commencement of the rule of Madame de Pompadour.

presented her to the queen, and Maria Leczinska, who was destitute of all jealous feeling, gave a most gracious reception to her rival. She even condescended to dine with Madame de Pompadour one day when she visited Choisy to inquire respecting the king's health. Thenceforth, all the ladies of the court deemed it no derogation to court the friendship of one whom they had at first nicknamed "the chamber-maid." The Duchess of Modena, the Princess of Conti, and Mademoiselle de Sens, were foremost in this degradation, and seemed to take a pride in publicly exhibiting themselves as the favored companions of her whom they had at first stigmatized as "the little grisette."

The Duke of Orleans became a firm partisan of Madame de Pompadour. He entered into the company she organized in 1747, among the courtiers, to amuse the king with private theatricals. This was a recreation in which the lady had acquired some fame before she was introduced to the palace; her acting and singing at Etoiles, where her uncle, M. de Toumehern, had a private theatre, had attracted many of the nobles to Etoiles; the Duc de Richelieu had been frequently a spectator, while the Ducs de Nivernois and Duras had appeared with Madame de Pompadour, on the stage. Louis XV. had often heard of these entertainments, and at his request a company was formed at Versailles, and the cabinet of medals was fitted up as a theatre.* The members of

* A code of laws was prepared for the guidance and direction of the members, which we insert, as it is but little known. It was suspended in the theatre, and bore the rather pompous title of

STATUTES.

I. In order to be admitted as a member of this company, it will be necessary to prove that it is not the first time the candidate has acted in comedy, for this company will admit no apprentices.

II. Each member shall specify his peculiar cast of parts.

III. No member, without the unanimous consent of the company, can select a part different from that determined upon.

IV. No one, in case of absence, shall have the privilege of naming a substitute. That right is reserved to the society, and is to be determined by the absolute majority.

V. The substitute shall resign his place to the original member on his return.

VI. No member shall have the power of rejecting a part assigned by the company under the pretext of its being unsuited to his style, or too fatiguing.

(These six rules apply to actors and actresses alike.)

VII. The actresses, alone, shall possess the right of selecting the pieces to be represented.

VIII. They shall have, also, a right to declare the day of representation,

the company were the Dukes of Orleans, Agen, Nivernois, Duras, and Coigny; the Marquises of Courlenvaux and Enhargues; and the Count de Maillebois.

The actresses were the Duchess de Brancas, the Marchioness de Pompadour, the Countess d'Estrades, and Madame de Marchais, afterwards Countess d'Angivilliers.

The manager was the Duc de la Valliere; and the secretary and prompter was the Abbé de la Garde, librarian and chaplain to Madame de Pompadour.

Madame de Pompadour was anxious to introduce Voltaire at court; she therefore chose his comedy, "The Prodigal Son," as the first piece for representation. It had such decided success, that the king permitted the author to be invited to the second representation, where Voltaire, for the first time, had the pleasure of receiving plaudits in the presence of royalty; for Louis XV., anxious to get rid of etiquette in these private amusements, had requested that they would disregard the rule which allowed no applause to be given when a king visited the theatre. This honor led to the exile of Voltaire. Delighted at being the only author whose dramas had experienced complete success, he addressed a most flattering ode to Madame de Pompadour.* The eulogy was so extravagant, that it was looked upon as an insult

to determine the number of rehearsals, and to fix the day and hour for them.

IX. Every actor shall be present precisely at the hour fixed for rehearsal, under penalty of a fine, the amount of which shall be determined by the actresses at their discretion.

X. Half an hour's grace shall be allowed to the actresses; but after that they shall be subject to a fine, the amount of which shall be determined by the actresses themselves.

A copy of these statutes shall be given to every member, and also to the manager and secretary. The secretary must have them ready to produce at every rehearsal.

Lanjon informs us that these statutes were framed by Madame de Pompadour herself, and thus explains the privileges secured to the actresses.

* The following is a copy of this ill-fated ode:—

"Ainsi donc vous réunisez
Tous les arts, tous les dons de plaire,
Pompadour! Vous embellissez
La cour, le Parnasse, et Cythère,
Charme de tous les yeux, tresor d'un seul mortel,
Que votre amour soit éternel!
Que tous vos jours soient marqués par des fêtes!
Que de nouveaux succès marquent ceux de Louis!
Vivez tous deux sans ennemis!
Et gardez tous deux vos conquêtes."

by the queen and her daughters; and the princesses made such strong representations on the subject, that the king sent the poet into exile. This event greatly afflicted Madame de Pompadour; but she had too much discretion to remonstrate, and she was rewarded for her complaisance, by being appointed superintendent of the queen's household.

In the year 1752, the dauphin (father of Louis XVI.) was attacked with the small-pox, and fears for his life were entertained. Louis XV., who had an intense dread of this disease, refused to go near his son; but the dauphiness, Maria Josephina of Saxony, attended him so constantly, that Pousse, one of the physicians, took her for a tender of the sick, and said, "You are one of the best nurses I ever saw in my life; pray tell me your name, my dear." The physicians were obliged to make a daily report to the king, who held his council in Pompadour's apartments, and on these occasions a close watch was kept on the countenance of the Duke of Orleans. Louis XV., however, appears to have resolved that, in case of his death without heirs, the succession should pass to the Spanish line of the Bourbons. He disliked the princes of the blood, and regarded them all as so inferior to himself, that he would have deemed himself humiliated if he had been compelled to recognize any one of them as his heir. He betrayed his sentiments on this matter, by exclaiming, when his son recovered, "What a fine game the King of Spain has lost!"

Close observers, however, asserted that, in spite of his apparent dullness and indifference, the Duke of Orleans, at the period of the dauphin's illness, clung to the hereditary hope of his family, and that the magnificent fête which he gave at St. Cloud, to celebrate that prince's recovery, was intended to disguise his own disappointment. Madame de Pompadour, in speaking of this entertainment, said to the Duchess de Brancas, "He wishes to make us forget the *châteaux en Espagne** which he erected; but they built their castles in Spain on a better foundation." This might have been true, so far as the will of Louis XV. was concerned; but the Duke of Orleans, from his residence in the Palais Royal, was so popular in the capital, that he was usually called the "King of Paris."

Though the Duke of Orleans was one of the most assiduous courtiers of Madame de Pompadour, the Duchess of Orleans thoroughly hated her, and launched against her the most bitter sarcasms, which soon circulated through Paris, and greatly offended

* A phrase equivalent to the English "castles in the air."

the king. The Duke of Orleans was at this time excessively jealous of the Count de Melfort, and not without reason. One morning the lieutenant of police informed the king that there was reason to apprehend that the duke intended to get rid of the count by assassination. The king replied, "My cousin of Orleans will not dare to attempt such a crime. But he may do something better; let him lay a plot to surprise the count, and he will find me quite ready to shut up, in a prison or convent, that devil of a duchess. If he got rid of one lover, she would soon have several others; indeed, she has some others at present, such as the Chevalier de Colbert, and the Count d'Aigle."*

At this time, so corrupt was the court, that the king was frequently harassed by letters from ladies of rank, containing immoral solicitations. The presents he made to these harpies exhausted the treasures of the State, and kept the finances in perpetual peril of bankruptcy. The principal nobles lived in the same dissipated manner; most of them became deeply involved in debt; and even the Duke of Orleans, in spite of his vast wealth, felt the pressure of pecuniary embarrassments.

The Parliaments, supported by the people, resisted the king's edicts of taxation; the Jesuit portion of the clergy, suspecting Madame de Pompadour of attachment to Jansenism, joined in the opposition to the court, and a general ferment pervaded the public mind.

On the 5th of January, 1757, about six o'clock in the evening, as the king was stepping into his carriage to go from Versailles to Trianon, the crowd as usual was very dense in the court of the palace, being anxious to see him pass. The cold was intense, and most of the spectators were wrapped in cloaks and great-coats: the place also was very dimly lighted. Suddenly, a man advanced among the guards as if he had been an officer of the household, struck the king with a penknife in the side, and then retreated back among the crowd. The king placed his hand upon the wound, and, seeing that his fingers were dabbled with blood, he pointed out the assassin to the guards, and said, "There is the gentleman who has struck me." He was instantly seized; and, just at the moment of his arrest, he exclaimed, "Let good care be taken of his royal highness the dauphin, and let him not stir out during the whole day!"

This led to the suspicion that the assassination had been planned by the Orleans family as next in succession to the throne. Ma-

* Mémoires de Madame de Hausset.

chault, the keeper of the seals, the Chancellor Lamoignon, and Rouillé, the minister for foreign affairs, at once formed themselves into a committee to examine the prisoner, who gave his name Robert Francis Damien, a native of Artois. According to the detestable practice of the time, he was examined by torture. Two of the life-guards, armed with red hot pincers, tore away pieces of flesh from his arms and legs; but these torments only served to render his answers more incoherent and his depositions more contradictory. He protested that he only intended to give the king a sharp warning, and this seems very probable, as he had struck Louis with a pen-blade, though the same handle contained a formidable stiletto that could be held open with a spring like a Spanish knife, and a blow from which would have been, in all probability, fatal.

It further appeared that Damien had been educated by the Jesuits, and had lived in the service of some persons connected with the Parliament. It happened that the Jesuits and the Parliament were, about this time, at war with the king, and amongst themselves. Each of these bodies endeavored to throw the blame upon the other; but public opinion decided against the Jesuits, so that many of them were compelled to leave France to ensure their personal safety. All these charges were destitute of foundation. Damien was simply a maniac, without accomplices, without any definite object, utterly unable to give any explanation of his conduct. The princes of the blood, but particularly the Prince of Conti and the Duke of Orleans, superintended the examination. He was subjected to the most frightful tortures on the rack; but no consecutive answers could be obtained from the unhappy lunatic. A consultation of physicians was then held, to determine by what form of death his agonies could be rendered most excruciating and most protracted, and this conclave devised for him the most barbarous cruelties ever recorded in history.

The preparations for Damien's execution attracted the attention, not only of France, but of Europe. Strangers came from a distance to witness it;* large sums were paid for a seat in the windows

* We extract the following from Mr. Jesse's very interesting work, "George Selwyn and his Cotemporaries," vol. i.:—

"Selwyn, as is well known, paid a visit to Paris for the purpose of seeing Damien broken on the wheel, for attempting to assassinate Louis XV. On the day of the execution, he mingled with the crowd in a plain undress and bob-wig, when a French nobleman, observing the deep interest he took in the scene, and imagining, from the plainness of his attire, that he must be a person in the humbler ranks of life, chose to imagine that the stranger

that commanded a view of the scaffold; and, horrible to relate, ladies of the highest rank were among the spectators.

On the 28th of March, a little before five in the evening, Damien, whose limbs had been broken by the tortures of the rack, was brought in a litter to the scaffold, and delivered by the officers of Parliament to the executioners. They bound him to an iron frame, and then commenced the tortures. The knife with which he had struck the king was fastened to his right hand, which, having been filled with sulphur and pitch, was held over a burning brazier until it was burned to the wrist. The assistants of the executioners then tore away fragments of his flesh from all parts of his body with red-hot pincers; but he uttered no cry until the executioner poured a mixture of melted lead and rosin into the bleeding wounds, when his shrieks were so loud as to be heard distinctly at the remote verge of the crowd. He was then loosed from the frame and thrown on the scaffold to recover breath for the final torment. Four strong and spirited horses were brought, and a limb of Damien was firmly attached to each. The mounted grooms then urged them with whip and spur in different directions; but, though the bones were wrenched from their sockets, they were not severed from the trunk. At length, the executioner cut the principal tendons; the horses were spurred to new exertions, and the unhappy wretch was torn in sunder. His still palpitating limbs and trunk were then thrown upon a pile which had been prepared, and were soon reduced to ashes. This horrible scene lasted more than two hours, and yet the cruel vengeance of the king was not satisfied. Damien's father, wife, and sister, were banished from France, under pain of death if they

must infallibly be a hangman. 'Eh bien, monsieur,' he said, 'êtes-vous arrivé pour voir ce spectacle?'—'Oui, monsieur.'—'Vous êtes bourreau?'—'Non, non, monsieur, je n'ai pas cette honneur; je ne suis qu'un amateur.' Sir Nathaniel Wraxall has given a somewhat different version of this story. 'Selwyn's nervous irritability,' he says, 'and anxious curiosity to observe the effect of dissolution on men, exposed him to much ridicule, not unaccompanied with censure. He was accused of attending all executions; and, sometimes, in order to elude notice, disguised in a female dress. I have been assured that, in 1756, he went over to Paris expressly for the purpose of witnessing the last moments of Damien, who expired under the most acute tortures, for having attempted the life of Louis XV. Being among the crowd, and attempting to approach too near the scaffold, he was at first repulsed by one of the executioners; but, having informed the person that he had made the journey from London solely with a view to be present at the punishment and death of Damien, the man immediately caused the people to make way, exclaiming, at the same time, 'Faites place pour monsieur; c'est un Anglais, et un amateur.'"

returned; and all who bore the assassin's name were commanded to change it.

The wound which the king had received was so slight that it would not have caused the least uneasiness to any one but a coward like Louis. He believed, or affected to believe, that the knife had been poisoned, and under this impression eagerly demanded the last rites of the church. The queen was summoned to his bedside; the saloons of Madame de Pompadour were deserted; Machault advised her, in a tone which had more of command than entreaty, to remove from Versailles; and D'Argenson courted the dauphin as a prince whose accession was immediate and certain.

There was an esquire in waiting on the king, M. de Landsmath, a coarse old soldier, who retained much of the language and manners of the camp in the midst of the refinements of the court. He visited the king, and found him in bed, surrounded by the queen, the dauphiness, and the princesses, all of whom were dissolved in tears. "Turn out all these weeping women," said the old campaigner to the king; "I want to speak to you alone." The king made a sign to the princesses to withdraw. "Come, sire," said Landsmath, "your wound is nothing, you wore too many coats and waistcoats for the knife to have penetrated far. Look here," he continued, uncovering his breast, and showing five or six large scars; "it is thirty years since I received these wounds, and I am not dead yet. Come, cough as loud as you can." The king coughed. "It's a mere nothing," said Landsmath; "you may laugh at it; in four days we shall hunt a stag."—"But if the knife was poisoned?" said the king. "Clear your head of that nonsense," replied the old soldier; "if it had been, your clothes would have wiped off the poison." The king was comforted, and passed a very good night.

The Abbé de Bernis and the Duke of Orleans did not desert Madame de Pompadour, and they were soon rewarded for their fidelity. So soon as the king's apprehensions were removed, he returned to his old courses with more ardor than ever. Machault and D'Argenson were dismissed from their offices; Bernis became the principal favorite, entering on a career of promotion which led him to a cardinal's hat; and the Duke of Orleans was used by the king as a counterpoise to the growing popularity of the dauphin.

Royal favor, however, could not disguise the perfect nullity of the character of the Duke of Orleans. He disliked the dauphin, and could not conceal his jealousy of the great talents for business

manifested by that prince; but he avoided taking any active part in public affairs. He appears to have been perfectly quiescent in the events which led to the expulsion of the Jesuits and the elevation of the Duc de Choiseul; and he seems to have preserved an indolent neutrality in the fierce struggles between the king and the Parliaments.

Death made sudden and rapid changes in the court of Louis XV., and once more revived the recollections of the claims of the House of Orleans to the succession. In the spring of 1764, Madame de Pompadour was attacked by a painful disease which her physicians soon pronounced to be mortal. The king, contrary to the etiquette which forbade the death of any not of the blood royal within the precincts of the palace, had her brought from Choisy to Versailles, where she continued to direct the affairs of state until the last day of her life. She died April 15, 1764, in the forty-fifth year of her age. Her brother, the Marquis de Maugny, succeeded to her money and estates, her husband having steadily refused to accept any part of this rich inheritance. Louis did not shed a tear or exhibit the least grief at her death. The remark he made at her funeral evinces the hardness of his heart. He stood at a window, as her remains were brought out during a heavy shower of rain, and, turning to his attendants, said, "The marchioness has no very pleasant weather for her long journey."

The dauphin did not long survive the favorite. A pimple or tetter appeared underneath his nose, which somewhat disfigured his countenance, and, anxious to remove it, he secretly used some quack medicine. The dauphiness discovered it, and removed the drug, but the dauphin was enraged, and procured a fresh supply. The pimple disappeared; but the absorbed humors descended to the chest, and he was attacked with a sharp racking cough. While in this condition, he went to Compeigne, where a flying camp had been established to review his own regiment of dragoons. One day, when he was very warm from military exercise, he alighted in a damp meadow, where he got his feet wet. The hour of council was at hand; he entered his carriage without changing his stockings, and remained late; before he reached his hotel, he had some shivering fits, and the next day he exhibited the symptoms of a very serious cold. He neglected it, and continued to expose himself to the alternations of cold and heat all the time his regiment remained in Compeigne. When he returned to Paris, he was so ill that the king sent Senac, his own physician, to attend him; but the dauphin rejected all medical

advice. He said to Senac, "I shall always be very glad to see you, to chat about literature and history; but if you come to speak about my health, the door will be shut in your face." Senac, aware of the prince's danger, and yet unwilling to offend him, came to him one day as he sat in a saloon hung with tapestry, depicting some events in the life of Alexander the Great. Turning to the figure of the Macedonian monarch, Senac commenced a warning lecture on the dangers of a neglected cold in the chest. The dauphin, interrupting him, said, "I have forbidden you to speak on that subject." Senac replied, "I am speaking to Alexander, here, and if he does not attend to me, in two months medical aid will be too late." The prince laughed heartily at this ingenious turn, but still refused to take the physician's advice. Early in October the fatal symptoms of confirmed consumption appeared, and he died on the 20th of the following December. Notorious as the cause of his death must have been, suspicions of poison were industriously circulated; but the imputations were directed not against the House of Orleans, but the Duc de Choiseul,* who had been elevated to the rank of prime minister by the favor of Madame de Pompadour, and who, for some unknown reason, was peculiarly odious to the dauphin.

The dauphin's son, who eight years afterwards ascended the throne of France as Louis XVI., was at this time only eleven years of age. It is recorded as a proof of sensibility in a monarch usually represented as totally destitute of that feeling, that when this child, entering the audience chamber of Louis XV. was announced as his royal highness the dauphin, the king exclaimed, "Unfortunate France! A king fifty-five years of age, and a dauphin only eleven!"

Though Louis XV. was jealous of his son, he attended him very sedulously during his illness, but did not manifest very deep emotion at the time of his death. He shut himself in his closet, more it appears to conform to etiquette than to indulge grief. "Still," says M. de Besenval, "the Duc de Choiseul having written to ask

* Some historians have quoted as a confirmation of this calumny the dislike manifested by Louis XVI. for the Duc de Choiseul. This, however, originated, not in any suspicion of poison, but in his recollection of Choiseul's rather insolent demeanor to the dauphin when they differed in opinion at council. Louis XVI., once speaking of the Duc de Choiseul, said, "I owe it to my father's memory not to admit into my favor a man who grossly violated the respect due to him, and insolently declared himself the personal enemy of the son of his sovereign."—*Morceaux Historiques de M. de Meilhan.*

for an audience, the king granted it, and expressing himself with frankness, declared that the loss of his son had only slightly touched his heart, but that still he regretted him very much, as he had been an object of terror to the Parliaments, which being delivered from such a restraint were likely to become very troublesome." It was as a protector of the Jesuits that the magistracy dreaded to witness the accession of the dauphin. The rest of the nation, without having any partiality for the disciples of Loyola, and somewhat alarmed at the ascendency they might obtain over the conscience of the prince, still regretted the dauphin as a virtuous prince, who, if called to the throne, would have labored to restore order, economy, and morality.

Stanislaus, the father of the queen, was the next of the royal family to die. On the 5th of February, 1766, having risen at an early hour, he went to warm himself, but approaching too near the grate, his dressing-gown took fire. In his efforts to extinguish the flames, having vainly rung his bell, his foot slipped and he fell against the burning wood, and was dreadfully scorched before any one could come to his assistance. He died from the effects of this accident on the 23d of February, and the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar were formally reunited to the crown of France.*

The dauphiness soon followed her husband to the tomb, leaving behind her the queen, a prey to mortal illness. She died June 25, 1768. Louis XV., perhaps conscious of the wrongs he had inflicted on her, manifested some emotion at her death. But his grief was of short duration: he drowned his repentance in fresh indulgence of the most licentious debauchery.

Notwithstanding the great wealth to which the Duke of Orleans had succeeded, extravagance had greatly crippled his resources, and in selecting a wife for his son, the Duke de Chartres (afterwards the notorious Philip Egalité), his first and almost only consideration was to obtain for him a large dowry. The enormous estates and pensions which Louis XIV. had heaped on his natural children, the Duc de Maine and the Count de Toulouse, were about to devolve on M. de Lamballe and Mademoiselle de Penthièvre, the surviving children of the Duc de Penthièvre, the only child of the Count de Toulouse and the Princess of Modena. The Prince de Dombes, eldest son of the Duc de Maine, had died un-

* France had really made these acquisitions in 1738. The independence of these provinces was merely nominal; and so little importance was attached to the formal reunion of the duchies, that it is not even mentioned in the "Annual Registers" for that year, either of England or Holland.

married, and his only brother, the Count d'Eu, was a bachelor, whose advanced age and declining health announced that he would not long delay the inheritance of his great wealth.

Matters were in this position in 1768, and Mademoiselle de Penthièvre having attained a marriageable age, all who might venture to claim her hand began to urge their pretensions.

The Abbé de Breteuil, chancellor to the Duke of Orleans, was very anxious that the wealthy heiress should marry the Duc de Chartres; and the character of the abbé, which was none of the best, gave rise to a report that the Duc de Penthièvres had given him a large sum to bring about the match. Besenval, however, assures us that this report was unfounded. The abbé encountered great difficulties on the part of the Duke of Orleans, who had been brought up in an absolute horror of the legitimated princes, the rivals and enemies of his grandfather, and the claimants of privileges peculiar to the princes of the blood. Moreover, he did not deem the fortune of the lady sufficiently large to atone for the bar of bastardy on her ancestral escutcheon, "for," says Besenval, "it is a received doctrine in France, that opinions and prejudices respecting marriages should always yield to a certain proportion of money, and, just as the sum is more or less, will be the amount of public blame or approbation."

Although the Abbé de Breteuil was obstinate in his determination, and persevering in his exertions, he would hardly have succeeded in determining the Duke of Orleans, had not an important event aided him in changing the mind of that prince. M. de Lamballe was attacked by a painful disease, produced by the dissipated life he had led; he had soon to submit to a very dangerous operation, and immediately after the surgeons declared that he was in the most imminent danger. In case of his demise, Mademoiselle de Penthièvre would have inherited from her father, the Duc de Penthièvre, and from her uncle, the Count d'Eu, estates yielding a clear annual income of three millions of livres, or one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. This was too strong a temptation for the Duke of Orleans; it at once subdued his prejudices against the family, and his repugnance to the match; he determined to ask the hand of the lady for his son, and he went to the Duc de Choiseul, requesting him to take upon himself the management of the affair. No one was so well qualified and situated as this minister for bringing the affair to a happy issue. Independent of the influence he necessarily possessed as prime minister, he was the most intimate friend of the Duc de Penthièvre, who reposed the most unlimited confidence in him.

Choiseul had a personal friendship for the Duke of Orleans, who had aided Madame de Pompadour in raising him to the rank of prime minister; but knowing his weakness, which often caused him to act on the suggestions and advice of those who spoke to him last, he strenuously recommended him to reflect well before taking any steps by which he might be inextricably compromised, should he at a subsequent period find reason to alter his determination. He set before him everything that could be said for or against the marriage; and finding that the prince was resolved to persevere, prepared to act accordingly.

But the Duke of Orleans was not the only person tempted by the large fortune of Mademoiselle de Penthièvre. The Prince of Condé sought her hand for his eldest son, the Duc de Bourbon, and he likewise applied to the Duc de Choiseul, soliciting his advice and interest. The minister did not conceal from the Prince of Condé his previous engagements with the Duke of Orleans, adding that, as he was the confidential friend of the Duc de Penthièvre, he could not avoid advising him to give his daughter to the first prince of the blood rather than the second. Although the Prince of Condé was much mortified by this refusal—as indeed he subsequently showed—he dissembled his resentment for the time: "No one," says Besenval, "knowing better that, in order to succeed, we should never despair in any enterprise, nor abandon it before the moment of its final termination."

In consequence of the engagements which the Duc de Choiseul had entered into with the Duke of Orleans, the minister waited on the Duc de Penthièvre, whose consent was obtained with very little difficulty. He declared that he would submit implicitly to the advice of Choiseul, and placed in his hands an exact schedule of all his possessions. He even confided to him a copy of his will, and allowed all his papers to be examined by the law agents of the Duke of Orleans. That prince, however, was less touched by this generous confidence, than disappointed at the small amount of fortune the Duc de Penthièvre proposed to settle on his daughter. He declared that he could only secure her an annual income of fifty thousand livres (two thousand pounds), for the present; but he promised to secure her all the rights and chances of eventual inheritance. The Duke of Orleans was nevertheless prevailed upon to be satisfied, but always in the hope of the speedy death of M. de Lamballe, which appeared to be certain.

Matters seemed to be in an excellent train, and likely to be speedily arranged; but it was necessary to obtain the consent of the king, and this proved to be more difficult than had been an-

ticipated. "Absolute sovereigns," says Besenval, "who are so superior to all others in their dominions, ought naturally to be above jealousy, since by a single word they can abase every one who gives them umbrage; still, there are none who are not offended either by the excessive opulence or the too great influence of their subjects, especially when these subjects are placed by their birth in close proximity with the throne." To the jealous emotions which the king instinctively felt against the greatness and popularity of the Orleans family, was added the notion that, at some future time, the Duke of Orleans would add the vast inheritance of his family to the fortune he was about to obtain by marriage; and this would give him an annual income of six millions of livres (two hundred and forty thousand pounds)—a fortune far beyond what the king could bestow on his grandchildren, the Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII., and the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X. The self-love of Louis XV. being thus wounded in several ways, the Duc de Choiseul had great trouble in extorting from him a promise, which he gave with manifest regret; indeed, his reluctance was not overcome until the minister showed him that he had not any right to prevent the Duc de Penthièvre from giving his daughter to the Duc de Chartres.

The consent of the king having been obtained, all parties thought that every obstacle had been removed, but one suddenly appeared from an unexpected quarter which changed the entire aspect of affairs. Monsieur de Lamballe had a sudden change for the better, and the emissaries whom the Duke of Orleans had in his pay, brought him word that the wealthy patient was out of danger. Nothing more was wanting to make a total revolution in the duke's intentions; he did not wish for Mademoiselle de Penthièvre, except on the contingency of her brother's death, and her being sole heiress. When these chances became doubtful, he availed himself of the smallness of her dowry as a pretext for breaking off the marriage, and forbidding any one to speak to him on the subject. Still, feeling embarrassed by a sense of the probable consequences on the public mind of so sudden a change, he allowed it to be believed by the Parisians—at that moment disposed to think favorably of the Orleans family—that the match had been broken off through the influence of the Count de Pont Saint Maurice, first gentleman of the prince's chamber; who, indeed, had always shown the greatest repugnance to the marriage.

We may easily conjecture the indignation of the Duc de

Penthièvre, who was forced to endure all the mortifications to which men of rank too frequently subject men of wealth; and who, besides, had been compelled to endure repeated instances of discourtesy and unpoliteness from the Duke of Orleans during the progress of the affair. But nothing could surpass the rage of the Duc de Choiseul, who found himself equally and unpleasantly compromised with the Duc de Penthièvre and with the king. He bitterly reproached the Duke of Orleans, vowing that he would never again interfere in that prince's affairs so long as he had breath. He then went to the king to propose a marriage to him between Mademoiselle de Penthièvre and the youngest of the king's grandsons, the Count d'Artois.* There were good and plausible reasons to be urged in favor of the match, and the Duc de Choiseul omitted none of them; but he advanced them in vain. The king's vanity was too powerful to be overcome by his minister's reasoning, and he remained firm in the opinion that such a marriage would be a degradation to a grandson of France, and that he would incur universal contempt if he allowed one of his descendants to be bribed into an alliance with the bastard line.

The Prince of Condé was too keenly alive to his own interests not to profit by these circumstances. He renewed on the instant his ardent solicitations to the Duc de Choiseul, supplicating him to advocate the cause of the Duc de Bourbon. Choiseul, who was fondly attached to the daughter of the Duc de Penthièvre, could not avoid feeling that she would be thrown away upon the Duc de Bourbon. Still, however, feeling piqued against the Duke of Orleans, he offered his services to the Prince of Condé to obtain the lady's hand for himself. The prince thanked him, but declined the offer, saying, "I love my son too well to wrong him by marrying a second time."

Not the least strange part of this curious history is the violent passion which Mademoiselle de Penthièvre had formed for the Duc de Chartres. She had never seen him but once, and that was at the house of their mutual relation, the Princess of Modena, where the Duc de Chartres had given her his hand to lead her to her carriage. When she returned to the convent in which she then resided, she declared that she never would marry any other

* The minister had had far better information as to the state of M. de Lamballe than the Duke of Orleans: he had consulted the physicians, and had received from them a positive assurance that the recovery of M. de Lamballe was utterly impossible.

husband, and had never since ceased to hold the same language, though at that time there seemed very little probability of the accomplishment of her desires. When informed that the hopes of a marriage for which she so earnestly longed had vanished, and that her friends had thoughts of uniting her to the Count d'Artois, she declared to the Duc de Penthièvre that she would never give her consent; and that, if he attempted to force her, she would go and cast herself at the king's feet to beg that he would place no constraint upon her inclinations, and thus render her miserable for the rest of her life: that she never would have any other husband than the Duc de Chartres; and that, if she could not obtain him, she would end her days in a cloister. This firmness was the more remarkable, as the young lady was one of the most gentle and timid creatures in existence.

The improvement in the health of M. de Lamballe was not permanent; a sudden relapse supervened, and in a very brief space hurried him to the tomb. The Duke of Orleans then became conscious of the grievous mistake he had made in having broken off so lucrative a match which there was little prospect of his being able to renew; and in having quarreled with the Duc de Penthièvre and the Duc de Choiseul, the latter of whom he knew to be anxious to secure the hand of the heiress for the Count d'Artois. Nevertheless, he charged the Abbé de Breteuil to attempt a revival of the negotiations with the Duc de Choiseul, and particularly to secure the influence of the Duchess de Grammont,* the minister's sister, who was known to possess great

* Great injustice has been done to this lady by many historians. She did not enter public life until she was past her twenty-eighth year, when her brother brought her from her retirement to be the associate of his power. Her dread of being supposed capable of receiving a bribe led her to one great act of cruelty and injustice. Some libels having asserted that M. de Lally had given her a set of splendid diamonds to obtain her brother's protection against the charge of treason for his government in the East Indies, she induced Choiseul to become an active agent in the unjust prosecution of Lally, and to ratify the iniquitous sentence of death pronounced on that brave but unfortunate gentleman. The duchess survived her brother, and was one of the many victims of the Reign of Terror. When brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and asked by Fouquier Tinville, "Have you not sent money to the emigrants?" she replied, "I might easily deny it; but I will not purchase life by a lie!" Her great anxiety was to save the life of Madame de Châtelet, whom she had persuaded to return to France. "It would be useless," said she to the judges, "to speak of myself; but I owe it to truth to say, that nothing can be imputed to Madame de Châtelet, who has never meddled with public affairs, who has never known party spirit, and never participated in any intrigue. There are

power over his mind. The Duke of Orleans often disgusted his friends by his indecision of character, and the ignoble meanness which he displayed in pecuniary transactions; but they pardoned him for the sake of his amiable bashfulness, and the services he was ever ready to render them so far as his timidity permitted. On the other hand, the Duc de Choiseul was of a kindly and yielding disposition; and the more passionately prompt he was in the first movements of anger, the less duration had his resentment. Such dispositions on both sides facilitated the Abbé de Breteuil's efforts to renew the negotiations for a marriage which had encountered so many obstacles. Although the Duc de Penthièvre was naturally and justly vexed at the way in which he had been treated, he was affected by the warm inclinations of his daughter for the Duc de Chartres; and besides, he reflected that, as she could not marry the grandson of a king, she was not likely ever to obtain a more brilliant or more advantageous match than the heir of the House of Orleans. Means were taken to inform the intended bridegroom of the strength of her inclination for him, and he also became anxious to accelerate the marriage. At length, the ceremony so eagerly desired—but for such very different reasons, and by so many parties—was celebrated at Versailles in the month of May, 1768, with an amount of splendor rarely exhibited, save at the marriages of crowned heads.

Choiseul had good reason for seeking to strengthen himself by political alliances. The Marshal de Richelieu was jealous of him; the Duc d'Aiguillon planned his overthrow; the Chancellor Maupeou undermined his influence with the king; the Archbishop of Paris regarded him as an enemy to religion; and the Duc de la Vanguyon, the great friend of the Jesuits, avenged himself on the author of their exile by denouncing him as the poisoner of the royal family. On the other hand, the Duke of Orleans and the king's daughters supported the minister; but the Condé family, displeased at his having preferred the Duc de Chartres to the Duc de Bourbon, gave all their influence to Richelieu. A far more dangerous enemy to Choiseul soon appeared in the king's new mistress, who was all the more dangerous, that

many as innocent as she is; but there is none whose character and habits of life are less susceptible of accusation or even suspicion." For more than thirty years the saloons of the Duchess de Grammont were the rendezvous of all the political, literary, and fashionable celebrities of Paris; but during the entire period no person of equivocal reputation, whether gentleman or lady, was ever admitted to her society.—*Note de M. de Meilhan.*

she seemed too contemptible to effect any mischief. A few words will suffice to relate her history.

Mademoiselle Lange,* the daughter of a clerk at the barriers, was seduced at an early age and descended to utter degradation. She then proceeded to Paris, and obtained a situation at a milliner's establishment, then the ordinary school of corruption. Here she was seen by the Count Jean du Barri, one of the most profligate *roués* in Paris, who supported himself by "plucking pigeons;" that is to say, stripping of their money thoughtless men of wealth at the gaming-table. The count proposed to Lange that they should enter into a kind of partnership. She was beautiful, seductive, and animated; he, therefore, trusted that with such an ally he could bring crowds of dupes to his gambling establishment. This speculation had great success; but after some time the count aimed at higher game. He made the acquaintance of Lebel, the purveyor to the king's licentious inclinations, and induced him to introduce Mademoiselle Lange to his majesty's notice. Destitute of the modesty and respect which Louis had been hitherto accustomed to find in a mistress, Lange had the charm of novelty for the elderly monarch. He formed the strongest attachment for her, and invited her to become his mistress in form. As, however, he felt that royalty would be degraded by placing a woman like this in such a situation, he resolved to procure her a husband who would give her a respectable name; and a brother of the Count du Barri was found ready to take upon him this degrading office. The Countess du Barri, thus formally installed, had great difficulty in finding a lady who would undertake to present her. There were as many intrigues and negotiations about this paltry piece of etiquette as if it had been an affair essential to the salvation of the country. At length, a poor, but titled widow was bribed to perform the task; and the king's daughters and granddaughters were compelled to receive this infamous creature on terms of equality. Choiseul, and his high-minded sister, the Duchess de Grammont, refused to bow down before this unworthy favorite, and they were supported in their opposition by all the princes of the blood, except the Count de Provence (afterwards Louis XVIII.), who declared himself in favor of Madame du Barri. The Duke of Orleans was one of the most strenuous opponents of the new mistress.

* She was born at Vaucouleurs, the birthplace, also, of Joan of Arc: hence it was remarked, that the same village had produced the great preserver, and the great destroyer of the French monarchy.

Several of the most stinging lampoons and pasquinades which appeared against her were known to have emanated from the Palais Royal; and it was suspected that the Duc de Choiseul greatly aided their circulation at Versailles.

Among the most servile flatterers of Madame du Barri were the Duc de Richelieu and the Chancellor Maupeou. The latter, pretending that he was naturally descended from the Barrys of Barrymore, an ancient Jacobite family in Ireland, called her his cousin, and treated her as a near relation. On the other hand, she aided the chancellor in inducing Louis XV. to send the Parliament into exile. In order to strengthen the king's despotic resolutions, Maupeou purchased an admirable picture* of Charles I. by Vandyck, representing that unhappy monarch in the act of endeavoring to conceal himself from his persecutors. This picture was suspended in the countess's boudoir, just opposite the ottoman on which the king usually sat when he visited his mistress; and when the monarch fixed his eyes on the picture, the countess said: "Well, now, *France*,† you see this picture; if you allow your Parliament to have its own way, it will cut off your head, just as the Parliament of England cut off the head of Charles!" These instigations to the violation of constitutional law and to misgovernment were the result of weakness rather than wickedness. Madame du Barri was profoundly ignorant of political affairs. When she attended the royal councils in imitation of Madame de Pompadour, whom she had chosen for her model, her whole attention was given to that coquettish display of her charms which had won the heart of her royal lover. In fact, she was a mere instrument in the hands of Maupeou, Aiguillon, and Richelieu.‡

To counteract the influence of this powerful mistress, the Duc de Choiseul resolved to marry the dauphin to a princess who

* This picture is now in the Louvre.

† It was one of her whims to call the King *La France*, as if he had been her valet, and to treat him as such. Louis XV. liked such familiarity, and often prepared coffee for himself and his mistress with his own royal hands. On such occasions, she spoke to him with all the grossness belonging to her ancient profession. Several conversations of the kind have been preserved, but not one of them can be quoted.

‡ Dumouriez asserts that she was very vindictive. He had supped with her frequently before her elevation, and she expected that after that event he would have come to compliment her at Versailles, on his return from Poland. He refused to do so; whereupon she gave all the weight of her influence to his enemies, and thus enabled the Duc d'Aiguillon to have him committed to the Bastile.

would be likely to support his influence. He selected MARIE ANTOINETTE, the youngest of the Austrian archduchesses, daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa and the Prince of Lorraine. Choiseul had been born in Lorraine and had preserved his respect for its ancient line of princes; and he had also been a strenuous supporter of the policy of Maria Theresa, and her able minister the Prince de Kaunitz. A very powerful party in France, headed by the Duc d'Aiguillon, opposed this marriage. To depress the influence of Austria had been the great object of the policy of Cardinal Richelieu, Cardinal Mazarin, and Louis XIV. So far as the Germanic policy of the regent had any rational or intelligible plan, it was directed to protecting the minor States of Germany against the encroachments of the empire, and Fleury had followed in the same track. Louis XV. would probably never have consented to the union, had he not been anxious to mortify the King of Prussia, whose stinging sarcasms on the old king and his mistresses formed the amusement of Europe.* This ill-omened marriage took place at a time when the people of France were suffering under the pressure of severe famine; it was therefore with great indignation that they received the announcement that the king had resolved to celebrate the nuptials with unexampled splendor, and had devoted twenty millions of livres (eight hundred thousand pounds) to an idle display of magnificence. The king and the dauphin went to meet the archduchess at Compeigne; there the Duc de Choiseul was presented to her, and she received him, as her mother had advised her, with all the attentions deserved by a minister through whom she had been elevated to the throne of France. She supped at the *château de la Muette* with the king and the dauphin. Even the most profligate of the courtiers were scandalized at seeing among the ladies invited to sit at the table with this young and virtuous princess† the Countess du Barri, holding the most conspicuous place. Two days afterwards, May 16, 1770, the dauphin and dauphiness received the royal benediction. The *fêtes* at Versailles were not so splendid or so suc-

* Frederic used to divide the reign of Louis XV. into epochs, marked by the ascendency of successive mistresses, and say, "Such an event happened in the reign of Petticoat the First (Madame de Châteauroux); such another in the reign of Petticoat the Second (Madame de Pompadour); and such another in the reign of Petticoat the Third (Madame du Barri)."

† Marie Antoinette made no public remonstrance, but she bitterly complained of such degradation in private. Maria Theresa could hardly interfere, for she had addressed the king's former mistress, Madame de Pompadour, as her *dear cousin*.

cessful as their enormous cost led the people to expect, and they were further saddened by the multitude of miserable mendicants who roamed about the castle and the grounds. The entertainment given in honor of the marriage by the city of Paris, on the 30th of May, was marked by a horrible catastrophe. A splendid exhibition of fireworks was to take place at the *Place de Louis XV.*, now known as the *Place de la Concorde*, and it attracted an enormous crowd of spectators. The principal issue from this place, the *Rue Royale*, was then in process of construction; deep holes for foundations and cellars gaped on each side of it; piles of wood, stone, and other building materials, rendered it nearly impassable, and on the opposite side the compact crowd was hemmed in by the river, for the bridge which now leads from the *Place de la Concorde* to the Chamber of Deputies, was not then built. A movement of terror was suddenly communicated to the masses by an unexpected accident. The wood-work erected for some of the fireworks, took fire; the crowd at first applauded, believing that the entertainments had begun, but soon the cries of the workmen perishing in the midst of the flames warned them that what they had taken for theatrical display was a sad reality. The crowds round the scaffolding attempted to make their escape, but were pushed back, swayed and crushed by the horses and carriages, and, at the same time, still further alarmed by the shouts of the pickpockets, who named every species of horror, in order to increase the disorder. It was more than half an hour before the multitude could disperse. One hundred and thirty-three dead bodies lay on the place; and when they had reckoned who were pushed over the parapet into the river, who had fallen into the pits in the Rue Royale, and how many had been stifled in other passages equally crowded and encumbered, it was calculated that the number of the victims of this calamitous day exceeded twelve hundred. The trouble and grief of the dauphin and dauphiness were great; even the heartless old king seemed to be affected by this calamity; but the relief given to the families thus left destitute was not at all proportioned to the necessity.

It is to be lamented that this fatal accident exposed the royal family to unjust and unmerited unpopularity, while the great efforts made by the Duke of Orleans and his son to relieve the distress and suffering, rendered them deservedly the favorites of the populace. They opened the Palais Royal to the houseless and necessitous, and distributed food, medicine, and other relief with their own hands. On the other hand, it was asserted that the

Counts of Provence and Artois evinced great insensibility, and an utter disregard of the appeals made to them by the poor.

Maupeou, having in vain endeavored to coerce the Parliament of Paris by a forcible registration of decrees in "a bed of justice," at length induced the king to arrest and exile the principal members of that body, and to substitute a new magistracy in their place. The Duc de Choiseul was at the same time deprived of his office and exiled to his country seat. A universal ferment immediately spread through the kingdom. Maupeou's magistracy became the object of universal ridicule, contempt, and execration; Versailles was abandoned by nearly all the nobles who were not obliged to attend there by virtue of their office, and the hotel of the Duc de Choiseul was more crowded than it had ever been during the time of his highest power. His departure from Paris had all the appearance of a triumph, and the king was overwhelmed with petitions for leave to visit the fallen minister in his retirement at Chanteloup. The princes of the blood were convened by the Abbé Count de Clermont, who, though suffering under mortal disease, prepared an energetic protest against the unconstitutional measures of the king and "the triumvirate," as his ministers Maupeou, Aiguillon, and Terray were generally called. The Duke of Orleans, the Duc de Chartres, the Prince de Condé, the Duc de Bourbon, the Count de Clermont, and the Prince de Conti signed this protestation, and were supported by thirteen out of the thirty-seven members of the ducal peerage. They did not, however, persevere; the king retrenched some of their emoluments, and they then submitted as humbly as they had protested boldly. The Prince of Condé and his son, the Duke of Bourbon, set the example of yielding, and they were followed by the Duke of Orleans and his son, the Duc de Chartres. The former retracted chiefly from a disinclination to take any active part in political life, and the latter because he was unwilling to be excluded from the dissipations of the court. Worn out by his excesses, but still indulging in every form of sensuality and vice, Louis XV. became subject to fits of melancholy, during which he professed penitence for his sins, and a desire to atone for his offences. Madame du Barri was much alarmed at these symptoms, and exerted all her fascinations to prevent the old monarch from ending his life in devotion.

"On the 28th of April, 1774," says Besenval, "the king, who was at *le Petit Trianon*, in one of those excursions of two or three days with which he incessantly labored to fill the void of his life and escape from lassitude and ennui, was suddenly taken ill.

Madame du Barri, fearing that the least disquietude about his condition would revive in him that terror of the devil which revealed itself on the least pretext, and induced him to send for a confessor, wished him to remain at the Trianon. There, surrounded by that vile herd of courtiers which had declared in her favor, she had nothing to fear from the royal family, nor from the intrigues which might be raised against her. But the Duc d'Aiguillon, deeming that such conduct would be too hazardous, engaged her to bring the king back to Versailles, whither he returned, at the urgent request of La Martinière, his majesty's chief surgeon, who gave his opinion on the matter with his usual honesty, frankness, and brutality."

On the 29th, the king was bled, the nature of his disease not being then suspected. On the following day, it was known that he had been attacked by small-pox in its most virulent type. The ministers and the king himself were anxious that Madame du Barri should remain with him, though they were aware that no prelate would administer the sacraments to the patient until after her departure. On the 2d of May, she visited the king, who then seemed a little better, and diverted him by the recital of some gross and licentious anecdotes. On the 4th, she saw him for the last time; but even then neither had quite abandoned hope: they agreed that she should only retire to Ruelle, the seat of the Duc d'Aiguillon, about two leagues from Versailles.*

"So soon as it was known that the disease was the small-pox," says Besenval, "all communication was intercepted between the king and the royal family, none of whom had ever had the disease, with the exception of the dauphiness. There were only

* Madame du Barri lived in retirement, neglected and almost forgotten, until the period of the revolution, when she excited attention by vindicating the memory of her royal benefactor, and grieving over the misfortunes of his august family. The devotedness and respect which she then exhibited, although they should not be received as a compensation for the scandals and evils of a profligate life, may yet be allowed to lend some honor and interest to its unhappy termination. Fearing that she might be required by the republicans to give up the presents she had received from her royal lover, and which were denounced in the Jacobin journals as "spoils of the people" and "wages of iniquity," she circulated a report that she had been robbed of her diamonds, and then, it is said, contrived to smuggle them out of the country, and sell them in London, designing to devote the proceeds to the royal cause. She was arrested on this charge after her return, in July, 1795, and in the following November she was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal for having conspired against the republic, and worn mourning for "the tyrant" when in London. She met her fate with great firmness and fortitude.

Madame Adelaide, Madame Victoire, and Madame Sophie, who believed it to be their duty to shut themselves up with their father. This courage and filial piety, which certainly merited praise, did not produce any great effect: for this is an age disposed to blame with great severity, and for the same reason is disinclined to bestow praise, and, besides, the object of such attachment was more than indifferent to the people, which weakened the effect of the sacrifice. Furthermore, the princesses were not much liked: they had given, on too many occasions, proofs of weakness of character, and of the insincerity which is its consequence, not to have ceased to be interesting. . . . . The princes were divided; the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé, and the Count de la Marche, shut themselves up with the king; the Ducs de Chartres and Bourbon remained with the dauphin. The Prince de Conti had been forbidden to appear at court."

Before Madame du Barri had departed, the Archbishop of Paris arrived at the palace: a dispute arose about administering the sacraments, which some opposed, as likely to alarm the king with premature fears of death. The Duke of Orleans believed it his duty to consult Madame Adelaide on the subject; "because," says Besenval, "the dauphin was counted as nothing by everybody, and no one seemed to bestow a single thought on the possibility that in a few days he would become their master. The Duke of Orleans asked the princess what she thought about the sacraments, and whether the time had not arrived when they ought to be administered. She replied, that the physicians were the proper judges of this question, and they were immediately assembled. They unanimously declared that, in the first instance, they had themselves proposed it to the chief officers of state, but that these gentlemen had declined to take such a responsibility upon themselves; that at the present moment suppuration was in progress, and that any sudden or strong emotion might cause a revolution in the disease, and prove a death-blow to the king. Everybody knew that the Duc d'Aiguillon* had dictated this reply. If all the physicians were not entirely at his disposal, certainly the greater number of them were devoted to him, and the rest were afraid to speak. Madame Adelaide, who was also grievously suspected of having been gained over by the minister, eagerly seized the pretext of the danger which her father might incur; and

* It must be observed that Besenval was devoted to the Duc de Choiseul, and therefore the political, if not the personal enemy of the Duc d'Aiguillon.

saying she feared that the archbishop, who had just arrived, might make some imprudent advances, she supplicated the Duke of Orleans not to quit him all the time he remained in the king's chamber, and to hinder him from saying anything which might alarm the sensitive monarch."

Madame du Barri had not been more than two or three hours gone when the king asked for her. M. de Duras, the gentleman-in-waiting, a declared enemy of the mistress and the triumvirate, informed the king that she had departed, and added, that a confessor was in waiting. It is probable that he gave this hint at the suggestion of the Duke of Orleans, who had brought the Abbé Mondou to the palace, and who had exhibited great anxiety lest the king should become delirious before the rites of the church could be administered. On the other hand, the Duc d'Aiguillon and his friends exerted every means in their power to hide from the king the danger of his situation, and they would probably have succeeded, had it not been for the firmness of M. de Duras, and the unusual energy of the Duke of Orleans. At their urgent request, the king consented to see the Abbé Mondou.

"The king," says Besenval, "remained about an hour alone with the Abbé Mondou, and when his attendants were again admitted into his chamber, declared that he would receive the sacraments on the following morning. La Martinière, the first surgeon to the household, represented to him that, as he had performed the duty of confession, it would be desirable for him to complete what he had so well begun, and not to have his repose disturbed twice. The king, without making any reply, desired that the Duc d'Aiguillon should be summoned.

"Very few people know that the king sent for his minister to inform him that his confessor had declared he would not give him absolution so long as his mistress remained so near him, and to order d'Aiguillon to communicate to Madame du Barri, on the part of his majesty, that it would be desirable for her to remove to Chinon, a country-seat of the Duc de Richelieu.

"D'Aiguillon, feeling that all was lost if this removal took place, replied to the king that he must have misunderstood the abbé; that he would go at once and consult the Cardinal de la Roche Aimon, and the Abbé Mondou, with whom he would arrange the affair. In fact, he hastened to the cardinal, over whom he prevailed very easily. He had far more trouble with the Abbé Mondou. Supported, however, by the cardinal, he succeeded with him also; but there were shrewd suspicions

respecting the nature of the persuasions he employed. All we know certainly is, that the king received the communion on the morning of the 6th, at an early hour. He exhibited great impatience for the arrival of the sacraments, often sending M. de Beauvoir to the window to see if they were coming.

"It was the Cardinal de la Roche Aimon who had administered them in right of his rank as chief almoner. It was remarked that, when the ceremony was over, as the cardinal turned round to take his departure, the Abbé Mondou pulled him by his rochet, and whispered something in his ear. The cardinal, immediately raising his voice, said aloud, 'Although the king is accountable for his actions to God alone, he declares that he repents of having given scandal to his subjects, and that he only desires his recovery in order that he may become the support of religion and the blessing of his people.' On this, the Duc de Richelieu heaped upon the cardinal the most insulting epithets in a tone loud enough to be heard by all the company."

Matters remained in this state until the evening of the 9th, when the king seemed likely not to survive the night, and extreme unction was administered. Gangrene had commenced, and the infection in the room was frightful. He appeared, however, to rally on the morning of the 10th, but it was only for a short time; he died on the evening of that day, and his body was already so putrescent that it was found necessary to enclose it in a double coffin of lead, which did not entirely prevent pestilential exhalations. More than fifty persons caught the small-pox, from having merely traversed the gallery of Versailles, and ten of these died. The king's three daughters were also attacked, and very narrowly escaped with their lives: every one who could, fled from Versailles as from a pest-house. The body was borne to St. Denis with great precipitation and without pomp; while France rejoiced at being delivered from a sovereign who had degraded the monarchy and almost ruined the country.

So early as 1763, the Duke of Orleans had withdrawn from public affairs, because the jealousy of the elder branch of the House of Bourbon refused him any high office. Like his father and grandfather, he delighted in the company of men of letters; but he chiefly cultivated dramatic literature. Collé, Saurin, and Carmontelle were his intimate friends; he erected for them a private theatre in his château, where most of the pieces were represented for the first time, the prince himself being one of the actors. Here he met, and fell in love with Madame de Montesson, widow of a general officer, and aunt of the celebrated Count-

ess de Genlis. To her the duke, by the king's permission, was privately married, April 24, 1773. But this marriage was never publicly or officially recognized; it was analogous to that between Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon. Such an equivocal position naturally exposed the lady to malevolent insinuations. She could not enter the House of Orleans without laying herself open to the calumnies which seemed to be its inheritance. Still her justification was in the affection of the prince, who gave her the most touching proofs of his attachment. For instance, he gave up his residence at the Palais Royal because she could not there hold the rank his love wished to confer upon her. For the same reason, he sold his superb mansion at St. Cloud to Marie Antoinette, retiring with Madame de Montesson to the castle of St. Assise, which he had purchased for her. He died there in her arms from an attack of gout, November 18, 1785.

The funeral oration of this prince was pronounced at Notre Dame by the Abbé St. Maury, who appears to have solicited this honor. Baron Grimm has given some details of this extraordinary oration, which, in spite of its length, are far too curious and interesting to be omitted.

"The Abbé Maury gave a description equally vague and pompous of the benevolence and goodness of the prince; he charitably praised him for having preferred the charm of private virtues to that glory of heroes, *with which he was early disgusted, at least on his own account,* but which he ceased not to admire in others; for this virtuous prince always took pleasure in honoring those whom he regarded as the hope or support of his country. This gave the preacher an opportunity of introducing detailed eulogies on the Bailli de Suffrein, the Count d'Estaing, the Marquis de Bouillé, the Marquis de Lafayette, &c. It is easy to understand the view taken of such an oration by those who were present at the ceremony expressly to offer their homage to the memory of the best of princes; to exhibit their gratitude for his kindness, and their sorrow for his loss. What would be felt still more deeply is, how much the Duke and Duchess of Orleans must have been surprised to find that the incident in their father's life, on which the orator deemed it his duty to dwell with most complacency and interest, was his marriage with Madame de Montesson. He compared it to that of Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon. This was the most brilliant passage of his discourse—a passage so highly wrought, that some people said, it might have been taken rather for a panegyric on Madame de Montesson than

a funeral oration on the Duke of Orleans. What is certain, and what has been deemed most reprehensible, is, that the author, on his own private authority, did not hesitate to call her the prince's companion and wife. When the Duke of Orleans (son of the deceased), in the presence of the Chancellor M. de Belleisle, asked the abbé by what right he had ventured to call Madame de Montesson his father's wife, the preacher boldly replied that he deemed it right to proclaim truth from the pulpit; that the letter of the late king giving his consent to the marriage was known to all mankind, and that he himself had read it at the time. 'Louis XV.," replied the prince, 'gave the late Duke of Orleans a letter for the Archbishop of Paris. Louis XV. wrote it with his own hand, and gave it to my father in my presence, enjoining me to bring it back to him so soon as the ceremony was completed. It only went from my father's hand into those of the archbishop, and I received it from him at the end of the ceremony to bring it back to the king.' The abbé made all sorts of confused excuses, none of which the Duke of Orleans would receive, and orders were issued by the king absolutely prohibiting the printing of this funeral oration.

"*February* 17*th*, 1786.—The Abbé Maury wound up his discourse by praying that the grandchildren of the deceased should inherit his virtues; and he not only said nothing in favor of the Duke of Orleans, but he administered to him no very indirect reproof, dwelling in several passages on the respect which princes ought to have for the public, and on the excessive fear which the late prince had of offending or outraging public opinion.* It is established that the Duke of Orleans, on leaving the church, having been asked by the archbishop if he had been pleased with the funeral oration, cried out, in the presence of several witnesses, 'So far am I from being satisfied that I am thoroughly displeased with it, as I shall not fail to let the orator know; and I sincerely hope it will not be printed as it has been delivered.'

"*February* 20*th*.—The Duke of Orleans, though he has good reason to be deeply and personally vexed by the proceedings of

* Elsewhere Grimm has recorded that the object of the preacher, throughout his discourse, was to assail the young Duke of Orleans, by dwelling on those traits in his father's character which were most unlike those of the son; and especially by representing him to the court, where he already had many enemies, as one who had the effrontery to pay no regard to public opinion. Libels were circulated even thus early, reviving all the old calumnies against the regent, and attributing the same deeds and designs to the young Duke of Orleans.

the Abbé St. Maury, preserves a profound silence on the subject. The only passage he exerts himself to have withheld from publication is that concerning his father's marriage with Madame de Montesson; a marriage which was neither approved by the nation, nor by the king, nor by the family of Orleans, and which the late duke himself had deemed it advisable to hide beneath the shades of the deepest mystery.

"Besides, the culpability of the Abbé Maury is rendered much greater by his having read this very paragraph to M. Fontaine, then the private secretary of the Duke of Orleans. M. Fontaine had warned the orator how displeasing it would be to the prince, and had prayed, supplicated, and conjured him to suppress the passage. The Abbé Maury had also read the entire of his discourse to Madame de Montesson, who, as may well be imagined, took good care not to give him the same advice."

Although the grandson of the regent had no very brilliant qualities, his amiable manners and kindliness of disposition had rendered him so generally popular that he was called "King of Paris," and "King of Bagnolet," in opposition to the King of Versailles, whose habits of etiquette and sensual indulgence had withdrawn him from all contact with the masses of the population. His literary tastes were elegant, if not profound, and for the drama he had almost a passion. Thus his pursuits separated him entirely from the court after the death of Madame de Pompadour, the only one of the mistresses of Louis XV. who had any relish for literature. His popularity contributed to keep alive the ancient jealousies between the elder and the younger branches of the House of Bourbon. The fidelity of the regent, the piety of his son, and the gentle simplicity of his grandson were not sufficient to remove the hereditary suspicions with which Louis XV. viewed the dynastic position of the Orleans family, and the favor with which the last two princes of that line were regarded by the citizens of Paris, and indeed by all France except the province of Brittany, where the execution of Pontcallec and his companions left in the popular mind a rancorous hatred of the regent and his descendants.

END OF VOL. I.